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THE CRIME OF PUNISHMENT[1]

AMERICANS will be interested by the fact that from 1878[2] until the present day there has been in England nothing like an American state penitentiary, nothing like a county jail, nothing like a city jail. Every man committed to prison in England and Wales, for even five days by a police court, is lodged in a *federal* prison. And even persons arrested on a Friday night, held over a Saturday holiday and over Sunday to be tried on a Monday, are kept in a police station cell which is regulated by "federal" laws. If Americans are shocked and wonder how local authorities came to give up their precious rights, let them reflect how a rural district in some state like Louisiana might be pleased to think that the millionaires of New York and Chicago were being taxed to support her delinquents. And let them consider the extraordinary results of this federalization in England. That first day of April, 1878, when five prison commissioners appointed by the Home Secretary took over from local authorities 113 prisons, they closed at once 38 of them, and after a very little while, 19 more. By 1898 they had

[1] Reprinted by permission of Harcourt, Brace and Company, from the recently published book, *The Crime of Punishment*, by Margaret Wilson.

[2] In that year, after twelve years of discussion and hesitation, in order to avoid an increase in county taxation, Parliament vested the ownership of all the prisons of England in the Secretary of State. The local authorities offered at first the same resistance to the idea that the American states today would offer to the federalization of all their state and county jails. They submitted, one may say, because the cost of separate county administration of punishment had become too great and futile to be endured longer.

left of the 113 only 56. Since the beginning of the war they have closed 26 more. And now, including those used for juvenile offenders, they have only 36 left. And of these 36, half the cells are, on an average, empty. In 1878 they had an average daily population of 21,000.

Now they have an average of just over 11,000. The last report of the prison commissioners says: "The annual number of sentences of penal servitude (three years or more) which before the war averaged between 850 and 1,000 for men, and between 40 and 50 for women, has since the war been approximately halved, the annual number for men varying from 448 to 487 and for women from 16 to 21."

Does this not prove, then, that imprisonment is a successful form of punishment? It does not. It proves exactly the opposite. It proves that England has found it so unsuccessful that from the year of the centralization of prisons, she has steadily continued to disuse it. She has steadily ceased to punish offenders. She has steadily cut down the number of things for which her citizens are imprisoned. She has steadily cut down the length of their sentences of imprisonment. She has steadily made imprisonment less drastic. She has steadily ceased punishing men while they were in prison. It has not been imprisonment, but the *disuse* of imprisonment which has contributed to make her the law-abiding nation of the world.

Why she has progressed above all the nations of the world in leniency is another matter. In 1800 all her punishments were more savage than those of continental powers or the United States. She was then using the death penalty as madly, as indiscriminatingly as American states today use imprisonment. We cannot rationally say that she punished so greatly because she had such great crimes to punish. She punished for slight crimes, for trivial offenses. We cannot rationally say that the Americans punish so savagely because they have such desperate criminals. We can only say that they have such desperate criminals partly because they have such cruel terms of imprisonment. The baby howls, and so they beat it. The more they beat it, the louder it howls. The louder it howls, the more they beat it. The more they beat it, the louder it howls. Not that the figure is at all exact. The punishment of infants by the most ignorant

mother is more successful, more rational and worthy of respect than the punishment of adult criminals by contemporary nations.

The wise leniency of England today is more startling by far than her severity of a hundred and fifty years ago, and much more perplexing. England, including Wales, had in 1928 a population of approximately thirty-nine million. The state of New York had something more than ten million. In that year, the average number of prisoners in all prisons and reformatories of England was 11,109; in New York, it was 16,494—that is, nearly five times as great a percentage of the population. England sentenced that year to three years or more of imprisonment 483 men and women; New York sentenced, to her state prisons alone, 1,516 men and women to more than three years. Of these, England sentenced 17 persons to seven years' imprisonment; New York sentenced 94 to seven years. England sentenced 7 to ten years; New York sentenced 120 to ten years. England sentenced one man to twelve years—the longest term given for the year in England and Wales excluding life-sentences; New York sentenced 84 to terms of from fifteen to forty years. England sentenced none to life-imprisonment; New York sentenced 64 to life. England executed 21—double her average for the last ten years; New York executed 12. All these English sentences, moreover, are automatically reduced one-fourth for good behavior. They include, too, all men sentenced by court-martial. But of the New York figures, incredible as it may seem, nearly two-thirds are indeterminate sentences, of which these figures show only the possible minimum, so that in reality the English terms are shorter, and the New York terms longer than those appalling figures show. And there are some American states so much more savage than New York that comparison is almost impossible.

Canadian figures show the same startling contrast of American savagery and stupidity with English leniency. The population of England and Wales was approximately thirty-nine million; that of Canada, equal to New York, ten million. In England there were 728 persons serving terms of more than three years; in Canada there were, in penitentiaries only, 1,806 serving terms of more than three years. In England there were 176 men and women serving four years; in Canada, 156. In England, 375 convicts had been shut out

of the world for from five to eight years; in Canada, 545. In England, there were 18 serving eight or nine years; in Canada, 49. In England there were 49 serving from ten to twelve years; in Canada, 123. In England, there were 9 serving twelve or fourteen years; in Canada, 44. In England, there were 11 serving fifteen years and three serving twenty years; in Canada, there were 70 serving from fifteen to twenty, 33 serving from twenty to twenty-five, and 16 serving more than twenty-five years. In England there were 82 serving life-sentences, which means in practice fifteen years. In Canada, there were 149 serving for life. In Canada in the last ten years, the penitentiary population has practically doubled, rising from 1,437 to 2,769. In England, since the war the number of sentences of over three years has been approximately halved.[1] However, the figures of comparison in this paragraph are for England for 1928 and for Canada for 1929.

The first great national step toward the disuse of imprisonment in England was the centralization of prisons in 1878. About this time the climax of prison cruelty was reached in England. Though it was perhaps never so relentless as it is in the United States today, never disgraced by those basic outrages, long sentences and overcrowding, yet its conditions in 1878 drove embittered and desperate men to malingering, self-mutilation, madness, suicide, and mutiny. From that day in 1878, when thirty-eight prisons were closed, until 1894,

[1] It is worth while pausing to insist upon the comparative leniency of the English prison system today for the reason that many Americans who all but despair at the increase of crime, when they refer to the law-abiding condition of England, quote and believe the most absurd accounts of the efficient savageness of English ways of punishments and hold up these fabulous severities as a success to be imitated in the United States. Judge Kavanagh in his recent book *The Criminal and his Allies* quotes a United Press dispatch of February 11, 1927, and although he says such discipline is perhaps too severe, intimates that it might well be copied in the U.S.A. I quote his quotation, and after each misleading sentence state the truth in parenthesis.

"A criminal's first days in a British prison are spent in solitary confinement." (This is not true of the great majority.) "Three times a day he hears another—when his food is handed to him through the bars of his cells." (His food is not handed through bars.) "He cannot pierce the impenetrable gloom of his first habitation in prison—the 'dark cell.'" (This is nonsense. No prisoner in England is ever put into a dark cell. Such cells do not exist.)

"From there he is assigned to a working gang." (He is probably assigned to a working party.) "Usually the task allotted to the new-comer is laborious, monotonous, heartbreaking." (It is probably neither laborious nor monotonous, it is certainly not

the chairman of the Prison Commission was Sir Edward Du Cane, a gentleman who served his generation by accepting its spirit, and not as Romilly served his, by loathing its spirit. No one will deny that his task of taking over, consolidating, and standardizing the prisons of England was one of "prodigious magnitude, on which an immense amount of thought, contrivance, and skill" had to be expended. Captain Lynd's achievement seems small compared to his. He had but made a machine out of the one New York prison. Du Cane, a more decent man, made one machine out of the one hundred and thirteen prisons delivered to him. He devised for them all rules of such incredible minuteness, that sitting in Whitehall, he knew at any moment of the day what locks were turning in what galleries, how many men were marching down what corridors, how many ounces of bread were being thrust into how many cages. One system, one treatment for all committed to prison, for the first offender and the old "lag." Neither the women who for drunkenness and prostitution were being sentenced at the rate of a thousand a week, nor boys and girls from twelve to sixteen years of age, escaped from the working of the machine. They climbed up their thousands of feet, remaining on the same level, they picked their oakum, they denied their tongue a word. Du Cane realized what he was doing. "Cellular labor is decidedly brutalizing in its effect," he wrote at the beginning of his career. "To men of any intelligence it is irritating,

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heartbreaking.) "Pickax and shovel are given him." (Not unless he is unusually lucky.) "Upon his conduct with this gang depends whether his work eventually is made easier." (It may be made more suitable, but scarcely easier, since it was never hard.)

"The working hours are from eight to noon. The afternoon shift from one-thirty to five: but there is no let-up." (Don't believe there is no let-up!) "Jailers armed with rifles in addition to a 'sap'—a solid rubber truncheon—hanging from the trouser belt, watch the gang with alertness." (No "jailer" is allowed to carry any sort of firearms inside the walls, or on the walls of any prisons in England, but from one prison when the prisoners go some distance outside the walls over the moors, a guard carries a gun and this probably has not been fired actually in ten years. No jailer has a solid rubber truncheon.) "Any slacking is the signal for bringing the 'sap' into play." (Under no circumstance would an English warder strike a prisoner with a sap, if he had one, or anything else, for idling.) "British jailers are not gentle." (They are extremely gentle. Brutality would not be tolerated.) "Complete silence among prisoners is insisted upon." (In no prison is it insisted on.) "The penalty for an offense against this prison law is three days' solitary confinement in the 'dark cell' on bread and water." (All this is entirely untrue.)

depressing and debasing to the mental faculties; to those of a low type of intelligence it is too conformable to the state of mind out of which it is most desirable they should be raised." Yet he seems to have been complacent about his system. If his prisoners all lost weight, none of them starved. If their minds became feebler, few of them went mad. They may have been desperate, but few managed to commit suicide. He devised cunning ways of preventing that. He enforced a standard of cleanliness and sanitation never before known in English prisons. There was no jail fever during the "Du Cane régime." But the régime seems not to have realized that though jail fever does men harm, the absence of it does them no particular good. He reduced the number of corporal and dietary punishments. And he protested vigorously against long sentences.

All the years of the Du Cane régime the prison population decreased steadily—not because the system of punishment was functioning more effectively, *but because it was functioning less.* This is proved by the fact that recidivism went on increasing. More and more of the men who were subjected to this punishment, instead of being deterred by it, came in again and again for another dose—*but fewer and fewer men were being subjected to it.* Fewer and fewer were being subjected by prisons to the necessity of being habitual criminals. Quinton says that at the beginning of this period: "There were hundreds of habituals who were undergoing sentences of seven years, of five years' penal servitude . . . . for offenses that would hardly call for twelve and six months' imprisonment respectively at the present time." "The prisoners were absolutely incapable of appreciating the justice of these sentences." (Perverse creatures that they were.)

> The Summary Jurisdiction Act of 1879 abolished those long, and frequently unequal sentences which had hitherto been bitterly resented by prisoners, and which formed the more-or-less justifiable pretext for their refractory behavior. . . . . The wholesale reduction of sentences following on the Summary Jurisdiction Act soon emptied half the convict prisons in the country, and nevertheless the local prisons were not proportionately filled. Marked improvement in the general conduct of prisoners soon followed.

The Webbs are of like opinion. "The success of the boasted machine was shown to be almost entirely accounted for by a reduction of the average length of sentences awarded by judges and magistrates"—

by its disuse rather than its use. Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise says of the recidivism of the period, "It seems almost a mockery to talk of social progress when in the background was a silent ceaseless tramp of the multitude of men, women and children, finding no rest but behind prison walls, and only issuing thence to re-enter again."

But not only was the shortening of sentences reducing the number of criminals being created, but the hope of shortening their sentences by good behavior was reducing the savageness of prisoners inside the walls. Quinton says: "I have ascribed the heavy list of prison offenses and consequent punishments at this time (the beginning of the régime) partly to the uncivilized state of the law which awarded him a sentence . . . . considered to be vindictive." It was soon after the centralization of prisons that the system of remission marks was introduced, by which good behavior was rewarded by the remission of the last bit of the sentence—a system so valuable that the amount to be earned has been increased again and again, until now it amounts to a fourth of all sentences over three years. This can fairly be called a disuse of imprisonment. It probably had more human value than the much-praised progressive stage system by which Du Cane allowed a small fraction of the prison population, by hard work and good conduct, to escape gradually the worst forms of labor, and to have the privilege of a mattress certain nights of the week, a limited amount of schooling, a library book, letters, visits, and the like. This system of marks may have been a valuable incentive to great effort at that time, although now it amounts to little more than a routine of eyewash. But the constructiveness of shortening sentences is beyond doubt.

Decade by decade the system of punishment grew more efficacious, as fewer and fewer law breakers were broken by it. It was the law which made the punishment, and thereby much of the crime, but by one law, made in 1887, called the First Offenders Act, between 4,500 and 5,500 were annually delivered from punishment, not more than 6 per cent of whom had later to be convicted. In 1898, by another law, prisoners locked up in default of fines were allowed to obtain a reduction of their time proportionate to part payment of their fines. This materially shortened many terms. Acts of the same year strictly limited the use of corporal punishment. "It was

feared," says the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "that the removal of this powerful deterrent would adversely affect discipline, but on the contrary, the yearly average of prison offenses has diminished." At the same time, the perverted forms of hard labor were abolished, the treadmill, the crank, the carrying of stones back and forth, and other such indignities. Since then there has been no hard labor in English prisons. It is amusing to notice how often judges still sentence offenders to hard labor, and how the papers impressively report the sentence, just as if hard labor had not been abolished in 1898. All this proceeding is simply a Bentham-like way of trying to make sentences appear more terrifying than they really are or a legal kindness in giving counsels an excuse for expensive pleadings. At this time, too, "cellular separation" was limited to twenty-eight days, the rest of the sentence being served in silent association. Meanwhile, still because of the foulness of the law, there were 19,000 lads between sixteen and twenty-one being sent to prison every year—and a great many of them being thereby criminalized. The next decade saw the correction of this law in the establishment of "borstals" for young offenders. This was supplanting punishment by prevention, and helped eventually to bring down the numbers in prisons. Although these young offenders are numbered with other prisoners in estimating the daily population of English prisons, so many of them are deterred from crime that their reformation reduces the number of recidivists. This law which reformed others by reforming itself, the Prevention of Crimes Act, as it was called, was passed in 1908.

But how criminal the law still remained is indicated to some extent by a sentence which appeared in the 1911 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. It was written by Major Arthur Griffiths, H. M. Inspector of Prisons, 1878–96, a man who could not be called in any sense of the word radical.

> Eighty-three per cent of the annual convictions, summarily and on indictment, followed by commitment to jail, are for misconduct that is distinctly noncriminal, such as breaches of municipal by-laws and police regulations, drunkenness, gaming and offenses under the vagrancy acts . . . . the lenience of the sentences indicates the comparatively trifling character of the wrongdoing. [Of all committed to jail] only 2 per cent were imprisoned for six months or a year and .75 to more than a year.

This means, really, that something like a hundred thousand people were being sent to jail annually for poverty—because they could not pay a fine. Sir E. Ruggles-Brise remarked, "That the principle of imprisonment, and all it connotes, both of shame and stigma, should depend upon the accident whether a small sum of money could be provided for payment of a fine, at the moment of conviction, is obviously contrary both to reason and to justice." One cannot, after reading that sentence, accuse such a gentleman of respecting such a law. As a result of this accusation and many others of the same sort the law was convicted and, as we may say, sentenced to reformation. In 1914 the Criminal Justice (what an accurate adjective!) Administration Bill was passed, which by allowing time for the payment of fines, in the next four years kept three hundred and ninety-six thousand persons out of jail! After that why should the adjective "criminal" qualify the noun "justice," whenever the act is mentioned? The law ought not to have its crimes thrown forever into its face, any more than any other criminal. Even those who most distrust the word "justice" would not have it always characterized as criminal.

The chief aim of penal legislation, said Major Griffiths, should be "either to keep jails empty, or to use them only where distinct reduction in the number of offenders . . . . can be obtained." Half of this aim has been accomplished in England, since half of the prison cells are empty. It is not difficult to see how the other half of the cells will be, before long, largely unoccupied and therefore more valuable. For the emptier the prison is, the more can be its moral, ethical, and political value. One cannot foretell the order of the changes which will lead to this constructive emptiness, but one knows well their nature.

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FREUD AND PSYCHOANALYSIS

THE headline writer in the *Literary Digest* recently asked: "Should Freud be spelled with an 'a' "? In other words, are fraud and Freud synonymous?

The question is both interesting and significant, for there is probably no world character in the field of letters and learning about whom opinion is so sharply divided as it is in the case of Freud, the founder of psychoanalysis. When one psychologist (Wohlgemuth) castigates psychoanalysis as "still-born" and about "as useful as a bread pill,"[1] etc., while another psychologist, no less a person than the late G. Stanley Hall, believed that the advent of Freudianism marks "the greatest epoch in the history of our science,"[2] is it any wonder that the layman is confused?

Our purpose here is neither to eulogize Freud nor to villify him, but rather to examine his ideas. In this article we shall review the origin of psychoanalysis and the specific nature of its claims. We shall consider, too, the points at which the views of Freud and his followers clash with the orthodox principles of modern psychology. While the aim of this paper is not to evaluate Freud and psychoanalysis, we shall, nevertheless, be forced to make a modest appraisal of the man and the movement.

I

Sigmund Freud is a Jewish physician, now seventy-five years of age, practicing neuropsychiatry in the city of Vienna. For about thirty years he has served as professor of neurology at the University of Vienna. He was born in Freiberg, Moravia, in 1856, the son of an old man by a young, second wife. His family moved to Vienna when he was four years old. There he entered the Gymnasium. At the age of thirty he married, and three sons and three daughters have been born to him.

Freud studied medicine at the University of Vienna and later be-

[1] A. Wohlgemuth, *A Critical Examination of Psycho-Analysis* (Macmillan, 1923), p. 221.

[2] G. Stanley Hall, *Life and Confessions of a Psychologist* (Appleton, 1923), p. 409.

came interested in neurological research. His interest, however, even during his medical course, was broader than that of the average medical tyro. It is said of him that he was one of the first to make experiments on the properties of cocaine, suggesting its use as an anaesthetic in operations on the eye. This piece of work he dropped, but it was taken up by a younger colleague, Kollar, who later became the pioneer in this field. Those who know Freud intimately say that he was greatly influenced by Goethe's *Die Natur*.[1] While his early interests were botany and chemistry he later gravitated into neurology and worked in the famous laboratories of Brücke and Meynert. Financial straits, however, later compelled him to abandon research and to prepare for the practice of medicine.

Early in Freud's medical career, a colleague, Dr. Joseph Breuer, also of Vienna, related an extraordinary case in which the symptoms of hysteria were cured by hypnosis. This was in 1880–82. Freud himself describes this case[2] as follows:

Dr. Breuer's patient was a girl of twenty-one of a high degree of intelligence. She had developed in the course of her two years' illness a series of physical and mental disturbances. . . . . She had a severe paralysis of both right extremities, with anaesthesia, and at times the same affection of the members on the left side of the body; disturbance of eye-movements and much impairment of vision; difficulty in maintaining the position of the head, an intense *Tussis nervosa*, nausea when she attempted to take nourishment, and at one time for several weeks a loss of the power to drink, in spite of tormenting thirst. Her power of speech was also diminished, and this progressed so far that she could neither speak nor understand her mother tongue; and finally she was subject to states of "absence," of confusion, delirium, alteration of her whole personality. . . . .

The illness first appeared while the patient was caring for her father, whom she tenderly loved, during the severe illness which led to his death. . . . .

It had been noticed that the patient, in her states of "absence," of psychic alteration, usually mumbled over several words to herself. These seemed to spring from associations with which her thoughts were busy. The doctor, who was able to get these words, put her in a sort of hypnosis and repeated them to

[1] In 1930 Freud was awarded the Goethe prize of 10,000 marks by the city of Frankfort. On account of his illness, Freud was represented by his daughter, Anna, who for many years has taken great interest in her father's work and assisted him in much of his writing.

[2] In one of a series of lectures delivered at Clark University in 1910, translated by Harry W. Chase and contained in *An Outline of Psychoanalysis*, ed. by J. S. Van Teslaar (New York: The Modern Library, Inc., 1925), pp. 22–25.

her over and over, in order to bring up any associations that they might have. The patient yielded to his suggestion and reproduced for him those psychic creations which controlled her thoughts during her "absences," and which betrayed themselves in these single spoken words. These were fancies, deeply sad, often poetically beautiful, day-dreams, we might call them, which commonly took as their starting point the situation of a girl beside the sick-bed of her father. Whenever she had related a number of such fancies she was, as it were, freed and restored to her normal mental life. This state of health would last for several hours, and then give place on the next day to a new "absence," which was removed in the same way by relating the newly created fancies. . . . . The patient herself . . . . gave this new kind of treatment the name "talking cure," or jokingly designated it as "chimney-sweeping."

The so-called talking treatment in this case, as a matter of fact, marks the inception of psychoanalysis. Following this experience Freud went to Paris to study with the famous Charcot, at that time the medical superintendent of La Salpêtrière, the great French hospital for mental diseases. Charcot, himself a distinguished psychiatrist, encouraged Freud to take the revolutionary step of investigating hysteria from the psychogenetic point of view. While this departure was disapproved by most of Freud's colleagues, he nevertheless continued his investigations, particularly in the field of aphasia and cerebral paralysis, reports of which he published between 1891 and 1897. The remarkable and historically significant case just described was published in 1895 by Breuer and Freud in the famous monograph *Studien über Hysterie*.[1]

While working in Bernheim's Clinic at Nancy, Freud learned that persons who had apparently forgotten what happened during somnambulism could, if urged, be helped to recall these experiences more or less vividly. With his own neurotic patients he became convinced that these apparently forgotten memories were not lost.

[1] The other works of Freud are: *Zur Auffassung der Aphasien*, 1891; *Kinderlähmungen*, 1891–93–97; *Traumdeutung*, 1900; *Psychopathologie des Alltlagslebens*, 1901; *Über den Traum*, 1901; *Witz und seine Beziehung zum Unbewussten*, 1905; *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*, 1905; *Wahn und Träume in Jensen's Gradiva*, 1907; *Kindheitserinnerung des Leonardo da Vinci*, 1910; *Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre, erste bis fünfte Folge*, 1907–22; *Über Psychoanalyse*, 1910; *Totem und Tabu*, 1913; *Vorlesungen zur Einführung in die Psychoanalyse*, 1917; *Jenseits des Lustprinzips*, 1920; *Massenpsychologie und Ich-Analyse*, 1921; *Das Ich und das Es*, 1923; *Hemmung, Symptom und Angst*, 1926; *Die Frage der Laienanalyse*, 1926; *Die Zukunft einer Illusion*, 1927; *Civilization and Its Discontents*, translated by Joan Rivière (New York: Jonathan Cape & Harrison Smith, 1930).

They were in the possession of the patient, ready to emerge and form associations with his other mental content, but hindered from being conscious and forced to remain in the unconscious by some sort of a force. . . . . It is on this idea of resistance, that I based my theory of the psychic processes of hystericals. . . . . In order to cure the patient it was necessary that this force should be overcome. . . . . These same forces . . . . which opposed the emergence of the forgotten ideas into consciousness, must themselves have caused the forgetting, and repressed from consciousness, the pathogenic experiences. I called this hypothetical process "repression."[1]

Here we have the essence of Freud's theory of hysteria. From therapeutic work with hysteriacs and other neurotics, he concludes[2] that they are persons

. . . . who have not fully succeeded in repressing the idea to which the incompatible wish is attached. They have, indeed, driven it out of consciousness and out of memory, and apparently saved themselves a great amount of psychic pain, but in the unconscious the suppressed wish still exists, only waiting for its chance to become active, and finally succeeds in sending into consciousness, instead of the repressed idea, a disguised and unrecognizable surrogate-creation (*Ersatzbildung*), to which the same painful sensations associate themselves that the patient thought he was rid of through his repression. This surrogate of the suppressed idea—the symptom—is secure against further attacks from the defenses of the ego, and instead of a short conflict there originates now a permanent suffering.

Hysterical patients suffer from reminiscences, argues Freud. "Their symptoms are the remnants and the memory symbols of certain (traumatic) experiences. . . . . They cannot escape from the past and neglect present reality in its favor."[3] Again, he says that the individual falls ill

when in consequence of outer hindrances or inner lack of adaptability the satisfaction of the erotic needs in the sphere of reality is denied. . . . . He then flees to sickness, in order to find with its help a surrogate satisfaction for that denied him. . . . . The flight from the unsatisfying reality into what we call, on account of its biologically injurious nature, disease, but which is never without an individual gain in pleasure for the patient, takes place over the path of regression, the return to earlier phases of the sexual life when satisfaction was not lacking.[4]

In our time, says Freud, "The neurosis takes . . . . the place of the cloister, in which were accustomed to take refuge all those whom

[1] *An Outline of Psychoanalysis*, p. 36.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 40. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 28–29. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

life had undeceived or who felt themselves too weak for life."[1] If, however, the individual "who is displeased with reality is in possession of . . . . artistic talent . . . . he can transform his fancies into artistic creations. So he escapes the fate of a neurosis and wins back his connection with reality by this round-about way."[2]

II

These repressed complexes, which produce the characteristic dissociation in hysteria, are always, according to Freud, the sexual wishes or phantasies of early childhood, and although repressed, still remain dynamic. Their pent-up energy or *libido* becomes converted into physical innervations and inhibitions which constitute the hysterical symptom. These symptoms are compromise formations between two opposing trends: a sexual trend and a repressing trend. The repressed sexual trend is finally fulfilled by its conversion into a physical symptom.

An example of the dynamic sex wish of early childhood is the famous Œdipus complex, emphasized by Freud and described by him[3] as follows:

> The child takes both parents, and especially one, as an object of his erotic wishes. Usually he follows in this the stimulus given by his parents, whose tenderness has very clearly the character of a sex manifestation, though inhibited so far as its goal is concerned. As a rule, the father prefers the daughter, the mother the son; the child reacts to this situation, since, as son, he wishes himself in the place of his father, as daughter, in the place of the mother. The feelings awakened in these relations . . . . are not only positively of a tender, but negatively of an inimical sort. The complex built up in this way is destined to quick repression, but it still exerts a great and lasting effect from the unconscious. We must express the opinion that this with its ramifications presents the nuclear complex of every neurosis, and so we are prepared to meet with it in . . . . other fields of mental life. The myth of King Œdipus, who kills his father and wins his mother as a wife, is only the slightly altered presentation of the infantile wish, rejected later by the opposing barriers of incest. Shakespeare's tale of Hamlet rests on the same basis of an incest complex, though better concealed.

It is only fair to say, however, that Freud uses the term sex in a much broader sense than we are accustomed to use it. He makes

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 65. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 65. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

little or no distinction between "sexual" and "social." Menninger argues[1] that "If Freud had only used the word 'social,' which would have served his purposes just as well, he would have staved off an enormous amount of criticism on the part of people for whom 'sexual' means 'genital.' "

III

In all of his formulations Freud assumes the existence of the "unconscious" and its dynamic influence on the "conscious." He assumes, further, that the mind or the *psyche* is split into layers, as a result of what he calls the "intra-psychic" conflict which is always in progress. This conflict is a running fight, so to speak, between the irruptive force of one's infantile sex desires and the repressive force of censorship (defined as the sum of emotional forces which induce repressions). In a strikingly animistic phrase Freud says: "Thus it becomes obvious for what purpose the censor performs its office . . . . ; it does this in order to prevent the development of fear or other forms of disagreeable emotion."[2]

To interpret and to modify the unconscious is the main purpose of the psychoanalyst. The interpretation of dreams is, in fact, the *via regia* to the unconscious, "the surest ground of psychoanalysis and a field in which every worker must win his convictions and gain his education."[3]

The dream is not a senseless play of mental elements according to the psychoanalysts. "It represents an indulgence in fancies without the intervention of consciousness," says Stekel.[4] It is "a fragment of the abandoned psychic life of the child," says Freud. It is an infantile wish-fulfilment. "The dream is the stream of our mental life as it flows out of the unexplored depths through the filter of conscience and up to the level of awareness," says Stekel.[5] Moreover,

[1] Karl A. Menninger, *The Human Mind* (New York: Knopf, 1930), p. 267.

[2] S. Freud, *Interpretation of Dreams*, trans. by A. A. Brill (New York: Macmillan, 1913), p. 226.

[3] S. Freud, "The Origin and Development of Psychoanalysis," *An Outline of Psychoanalysis*, p. 46.

[4] Wilhelm Stekel, "The Meaning of Dream Symbolism," *An Outline of Psychoanalysis*, p. 154.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

one's dreams are highly egotistical, having to do, in one way or another, with one's self, according to Freud.

One of the most bitterly contested generalizations of the psychoanalysts is the matter of dream-symbolism. To the Freudians, at least, sexual significance is read into practically everything. The so-called "manifest dream" is a distorted representation of the "latent dream." Hence the "latent dream" is a wish, while the "manifest dream" is an event. An illustration or two from Freud[1] will show his use of these hypotheses.

A woman dreamt that she attended the funeral of a small nephew. She was very fond of the boy, and did not understand why she should have dreamt of his death. Analysis showed that some time earlier she had attended the funeral of another nephew, and had met on this occasion a young physician with whom she was in love. The dream was a simple way of saying she wished that the physician would return. The manifest dream revealed but little of the latent dream. The symbolism was fairly simple.

Another example[2] is the following:

A young woman who had been married for several years dreamt that she went to the theater with her husband. On arrival at the theater they found the house only half filled. Her husband told her of a young woman and her bridegroom who had wished to come but had been unable. She thought this "no misfortune" for them. In point of fact, she (the dreamer) had recently bought theater tickets in advance, paying a surcharge for them, only to find that one side of the orchestra was almost empty. Her mind kept running upon the theme "too hasty." The explanation of this dream as given by Freud was that . . . . buying tickets too early was symbolic of the woman's unconscious protest against too early a marriage.

Another expression of the unconscious and a way in which the latter obtrudes itself when the censor is off guard, so to speak, are the bungling acts of everyday life. Specifically, the forgetting of things one is supposed to know; mistakes in speaking, writing, reading; the loss or breaking of objects, etc. Wit and humor are also best explained, according to Freud, in terms of the unconscious and its repressed desires. This, he would say, explains the prominence

[1] Quoted by G. Murphy, *Historical Introduction to Modern Psychology* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1929), p. 317.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 318, condensed from Freud's *General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*, trans. by Brill.

of sex in many jokes. In any case, Freud would argue, wit is essentially a process of "letting the cat out of the bag."[1]

IV

Before we turn to a criticism of the foregoing theories of Freud and his disciples, let us briefly consider the specific techniques employed by the psychoanalyst in the treatment of a case.

Freud soon abandoned hypnotism and substituted the cathartic method in his work, first because he soon found himself unable to hypnotize many of his patients; second, because even where he could, it was a hindrance since by hypnotism he merely removed the psychic resistances from one field "only to pile them up in an unscalable wall at another point."

In attempting to discover the repressed complexes which are alleged to be the cause of the patient's trouble, the psychoanalyst starts out from the last memories of the patient, encouraging him to speak along any line that he desires, on the assumption that nothing can occur to him except what has some indirect bearing on the complex under probe. This is called the method of "free association." Should the analyst merely want to discover clues to the patient's repressed complexes, without going into the matter of their arrangement and associations, word-association tests are employed.

According to Freud,[2] whenever a neurotic is thus psychoanalyzed,

> .... there occurs in him the so-called phenomenon of transfer (*Uebertragung*), that is, he applies to the person of the physician a great amount of tender emotion, often mixed with enmity, which has no foundation in any real relation, and must be derived in every respect from the old wish-fancies of the patient which have become unconscious. Every fragment of his emotive life, which can no longer be called back into memory, is accordingly lived over by

[1] The following anecdote is used by Freud himself, to make the point: "Two unscrupulous business men had succeeded by fortunate speculations in accumulating a large fortune, and then directed their efforts to breaking into good society. Among other means they thought it would be of advantage to be painted by the most famous and expensive artist of the city. .... The costly paintings were first shown at a great *soirée* and both hosts led the most influential connoisseur and art critic to the wall of the salon on which the portraits were hung, to elicit his admiring judgment. The critic looked for a long time, looked about as though in search of something, and then merely asked, pointing out the vacant space between the two pictures: 'And where is the Saviour?' " ("Origin and Development of Psychoanalysis," *op. cit.*, pp. 43–44).

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

the patient in his relations to the physician, and only by such a living of them over in the "transfer" is he convinced of the existence and the power of these unconscious sexual excitations. The symptoms, which, to use a simile from chemistry, are the precipitates of earlier love experiences, ... can only be dissolved in the higher temperature of the experience of transfer and transformed into other psychic products. The physician plays in this reaction, to use an excellent expression of Ferenczi, the rôle of a catalytic ferment, which temporarily attracts to itself the affect which has become free in the course of the process.

To bring about such a "transference" is regarded by most psychoanalysts as an essential step in every successful cure.

Psychoanalysis is therefore a technique for reaching down into the hidden depths of the individual, says Dr. Beatrice M. Hinkle,[1] in order to "bring to light the underlying motives and determinants of his symptoms and attitudes, and to reveal the unconscious tendencies which lie behind actions and reactions and which influence development and determine the relations of life itself." "The astonishing—the incredible—thing about psychoanalysis," says Menninger,[2] "is its simplicity."[3]

[1] "An Introduction to Analytic Psychology," *An Outline of Psychoanalysis*, pp. 219–20.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 265.

[3] In a delightful book, *Everyman's Psychology* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1929), Sir John Adams has interestingly described, on page 121, a typical psychoanalyst's "den." In contrast with the ordinary doctor's consulting room where one sees forbidding instruments, microscopes, scalpels, etc., the psychoanalyst's office is of an entirely different sort.

"The room will be well-furnished, rather on the heavy side. The colour tone will be dark: deep blue, purplish crimson, or dull gold. There will be no desk at all, and the doctor will not be sitting. You will probably find him standing in front of the fireplace, in which, if the weather will at all stand it, there burns a cheerful fire. If there is no fire he will probably be found leaning with one elbow on the mantelpiece, and looking out of the window rather than at the door by which you enter. Probably he will not look at you at the beginning, but assure you of your welcome by a word or two of pleasant greeting. He will request you to take a seat; then you will notice that you have the choice of a comfortable easy chair . . . . an enticing couch. . . . . You will be invited by your well-poised consultant to talk to him about anything that occurs to you. Very likely you will nervously protest that you haven't anything to talk about. But he will put you at your ease on that point by urging you to talk of whatever occurs to you. You may begin on the weather and things go well. But if you renew your protest and say you haven't an idea to talk about he will encourage you to tell him that you have nothing to say and to tell him also whether you are always so tongue-tied. If you still remain silent he will ask you if you don't find most people very talkative. In some way or other he will rouse you to say something, and as soon as he gets you started things go

V

Let us consider these Freudian concepts in the light of the more serious objections which are leveled against them. First of all, with regard to hysteria.

The word hysteria is derived from the Greek (ὑστέρα) and literally means womb, because of the ancient belief that the disease depended upon some uterine disease. It is now generally regarded as a psychoneurotic disturbance affecting the mind yet manifesting physical symptoms, sometimes simulating even the gravest organic disorders. The psychic disturbances consist usually of increased irritability, tendency to exaggeration, hallucinations, somnambulistic and hypnotic states. Sensory disturbances may include functional neuralgias, anaesthesia, hyperaesthesia, blindness, deafness, loss of taste, etc. On the motor side may occur all sorts of paralyses, contractures, catalepsy, convulsions, etc.

The nature of hysteria has been a matter for discussion and theorizing for centuries, says White.[1]

> About the only ground upon which all can meet today is that the manifestations are mental in origin. . . . . Babinski has laid down the dictum that no symptom can be hysterical which cannot be produced by suggestion and removed by persuasion. . . . . Sollier regards it as the result of the going to sleep more or less locally or generally of the cerebral centers. . . . . Janet says that hysteria is "a form of mental depression, characterized by the retraction of the field of personal consciousness, and by the tendency to the dissociation and the emancipation of systems of ideas, and of functions, which by their synthesis, constitute the personality.[2]

Rivers[3] raises an important question as to why hysteria in civil life affects women to so far greater an extent than men.

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pretty well. It is true that every now and again you seem to run down and have nothing more to add. When this happens he is at hand, unostentatiously to put in an insignificant question or challenging remark. His great object is to keep you talking in as natural a way as possible. . . . . After forty or fifty minutes of this one-sided talk he looks at his watch and says, something like this: 'Well, well, this is Tuesday, would Friday afternoon at 3:30 suit you for another call, when we can go more directly into your case?'"

[1] W. A. White, *Outlines of Psychiatry* (Washington: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, 1921), pp. 267–68.

[2] Morton Prince regarded hysteria as a form of dissociated or multiple personality.

[3] W. H. R. Rivers, *Instinct and the Unconscious* (Cambridge: University Press, 1922), p. 136.

The idea that only women are affected has long been given up, but the experience of war has shown how very prone men are to succumb to hysteria when the suitable conditions arise, viz., conditions which make too great a demand on the danger-instincts. We have to discover why hysteria should be so frequent in women and so rare in men, under the ordinary conditions of civil life. . . . . Women are always liable to dangers in connection with child-birth to which men are not exposed.

The cases of war-neurosis, or "shell-shock," as they were loosely called, tend to minimize the importance of the sex factor in hysteria, according to many authorities. Rivers,[1] for example, concludes that

The first result of the dispassionate study of the psycho-neuroses of warfare, in relation to Freud's scheme, was to show that in the vast majority of cases there is no reason to suppose that factors derived from the sexual life played any essential part in causation, but that these disorders became explicable as the result of disturbance of another instinct, one even more fundamental than that of sex—the instinct of self-preservation.

Another objection frequently made is against Freud's use of the old empirical theory of consciousness. "According to scientific psychology," says Dunlap,[2] "consciousness is merely a function of the total organism." Watson,[3] with characteristic gusto, carries the objection still farther and says:

Freud had accepted, first the then current mysticism of the mind—of mind as an entity distinct from the body. In the second place he had been trained as a physician to think in terms of disease entities. Since there was no pathology of the brain in these psychopathic individuals, there must be a true pathology of mind. There must be some festering spot. . . . . Since the physician could find no trace of the festering spot in the "conscious mind" of the patient, there must be a substratum to mind in which the trouble might be located. This substratum is the unconscious. . . . .

Freud was particularly well versed in the Old Testament and was widely read in folk-lore. One cannot help but accuse him of having been much influenced in his youth by the fable of the devils who resided in the Galilean swine and who were cast out by the great master therapeutist with a few mystic words. . . . .

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 4–5.

[2] Knight Dunlap, *Mysticism, Freudianism and Scientific Psychology* (St. Louis: C. V. Mosby, 1920), p. 47.

[3] John B. Watson, "The Unconscious of the Behaviorist," chap. iv, *The Unconscious, a Symposium* (New York: Knopf, 1928), pp. 91–93.

The scientific level of Freud's concept of the unconscious is exactly on a par with the miracles of Jesus. I say this despite my reverence for Freud and my admiration for his courage in insisting upon the rôle sex plays in the lives of us all. I say this in spite of the fact that Freud's teachings have stimulated the thoughts of all psychologists and of all psychiatrists. With the advent of behaviorism in 1913, the mind-body problem disappeared—not because ostrich-like its devotees hid their heads in the sand but because they would take no account of phenomena which they could not observe. The behaviorist finds no mind in his laboratory—sees it nowhere in his subjects.

The importance which Freud and the psychoanalysts attach to dreams and dream-symbolism is likewise objected to by the psychologists. The academic behaviorist is apparently satisfied with what Conklin[1] calls "the standard theory for the interpretation of dreams," in outlining which he says:

The factual data concerning the nature of sleep point to some very marked change in the functional capacity of the brain. This is accepted as sufficient explanation for the limitation of the range of association, the lack of criticism in the dream, and for the absurdity of the dream. A process once started in a sleeping brain follows what might be called the path of least resistance, the course of free association, which ends either in waking or in fading to disappearance. This path of free association is recognized as not being altogether free, but as governed by no set attitude, hence by the familiar effects of recency, frequency, and intensity. The starting of the process is attributed to disturbing stimuli which force activity in some portion of the cerebral cortex.

What seems to be a valid objection to the Freudian theory of the dream is expressed by Woodworth,[2] who shows how easy-running the association or recall mechanism is. "It isn't necessary," he insists, "to look for big, mysterious driving forces when we know that A makes you think of B and B of C with the greatest ease."

Wohlgemuth[3] ridicules the psychoanalysts, especially the Freudians for their extravagance in the matter of dream symbolism, which he says "appears to run riot in mysticism." This is undoubtedly a valid criticism.

[1] E. S. Conklin, *Principles of Abnormal Psychology* (New York: Holt, 1929), pp. 337–38.

[2] Robert S. Woodworth, *Psychology, a Study of Mental Life* (New York: Holt, 1921), p. 507.

[3] Wohlgemuth, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

The general objection to the Freudian theory of dreaming is well stated by McDougall[1] who says:

> Professor Freud must be recognized as the man who has opened the way to an understanding of dreams. But, so much being admitted, there remain strong grounds for rejecting those features of Freud's theory which may fairly be called the characteristically Freudian features, especially the assertion that all or the vast majority of dreams that are not simple direct expressions of bodily needs can be traced back to infantile desires or fixations; as also the assertion that the great majority express sexual desires.

VI

Just as Freudianism has more or less eclipsed Freud, so psychoanalysis has outstripped Freudianism. Psychoanalysis is now a movement with many leading characters and several distinct divisions.

Freud worked alone for about a decade, i.e., until about 1906, but soon attracted a number of able disciples, most of whom, be it said, have left their master and established independent schools of psychoanalysis, with emphases and modifications of one sort or another.

Chief among the outstanding characters in the movement today are Adler, Jung, Stekel, Jones, Ferenczi, Alexander, Rank, and Brill, each one of whom has his own coterie of followers (or sycophants, as you will).

At the present time there are three or four main divisions or lines of cleavage in the movement, headed respectively by Freud, Jung, and Adler. Jung (of Zurich), a one-time disciple and now a rival of Freud, claims our attention first of all because of his experimental work in word-association, a research, by the way, quite similar to but wholly independent of the word-association studies which have been projected by the experimental psychologists in this country. These "complex-indicators," as the word-association tests are called, are clues to concealed emotional conflicts and are routinely employed by the "Zurich" school in their psychoanalytic work. Jung's greatest contribution, however, is his dichotomous classification of psychological types. In some persons, he says, emotion is directed outward, to the external world of reality. These types he calls "ex-

[1] William McDougall, *Outline of Abnormal Psychology* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), p. 178.

traverts." Those who, on the other hand, turn their energies and emotions within, toward the world of imagination, he calls "introverts." Jung would probably say, for example, that Roosevelt was a typical extravert, while Wilson was an introvert.

Adler, a still younger disciple, also broke with the master, protesting openly that he "would not remain in Freud's shadow." We in the United States, at least, recognize Adler as the inventor of the "inferiority complex." He repudiates entirely the sex basis of personality disorders and attributes them all to organic and psychic inferiority.

Adler's early interest grew out of his studies of organ inferiority. He noted, for instance, the extent to which one organ in the body compensates for a lack or a weakness in another; just, for example, as deaf people compensate with their eyes, and vice versa. Following his contact with Freud, Adler adapted his theory of organ inferiority to the problems of psychopathology. He now contends that the neurotic is a person with an actual inferiority who finds himself thwarted in his "masculine protest," and that the symptoms of his neurosis are merely the bizarre protests against, or futile compensations for, inferiority. According to Adler, psychoanalysis is a device for determining the basis of the "inferiority-complex" and a means of unraveling its subversive compensations. It is also a technique for educating the patient in courage and for the cultivation of efficient compensations.[1]

Among the younger and less important psychoanalysts are to be noted Jones, of London, still an ardent disciple of Freud, and at the present time editor of *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis*. To Jones belongs the credit for attaching a new and useful meaning of the word "rationalize." By rationalization he means a process of self-justification; "investing an attitude or an act with rationality whereas the real motive may be hidden or unrecognized." This, of course, is merely an extension of Freud's concept of the censor, which not only represses our unconscious wishes but undertakes to verbal-

[1] Alfred Adler's best known work is *The Neurotic Constitution* (New York: Moffatt Yard, 1917), trans. by Bernard Glueck. Dr. Adler has lately done a lot of popular lecturing and writing in the United States. Among his recent titles are: *The Science of Living, Understanding Human Nature,* and *The Education of Children,* all published by Greenberg, New York City.

ize them so as to make them conform to the prevailing moral code, should they chance to be antisocial as they often are.

One of the newest stars in the psychoanalytic firmament is Dr. Wilhelm Stekel of Vienna. He has been called the spiritual heir of Freud. He has taken Freud's theories of the dream and dream symbolism and expanded them into a psychological system described in his monograph *The Will to Sleep*.[1] Another outstanding character in the movement is Dr. Franz Alexander, of Berlin, recently appointed to a special professorship at the University of Chicago. Alexander's best known work, in this country, at least, is his *Psychoanalysis of the Total Personality*.[2]

The foregoing comments merely indicate the main points of difference between the important schools of psychoanalysis. The points with regard to which there is essential agreement, however, are: (1) the developmental viewpoint in explaining mental phenomena, (2) the existence and function of the unconscious, and (3) the technique of probing for complexes by means of free or controlled association.

VII

Our final consideration has to do with the question: What value shall we place upon Freud and psychoanalysis? One thing, of course, is certain; the influence of Freud and his followers is unmistakably great. The most cursory bibliographical survey that one can make reveals the far-reaching ramifications of the movement; mythology, religion, folklore, poetry, biography, literary-criticism, linguistics, art, anthropology, mysticism, psychology, sociology, social work, education, medicine, philosophy, etc. These and many other fields of life and endeavor have been influenced by Freud and psychoanalysis to some greater or lesser degree.

Psychoanalysis has been more influential in the United States than in any other country. This is due, in the first place, to the influence of G. Stanley Hall, who, in 1909, brought Freud and a few of his disciples to Clark University, and as a result of the famous Con-

[1] Stekel's best known work, however, is his *Sex and Dreams*, trans. by Dr. James S. Van Teslaar (Boston: Richard G. Badger).

[2] Franz Alexander, *Psychoanalyse der Gesamtpersönlichkeit* (Wien VII: Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, Ges. m. b. H., 1927).

ference of 1909, literally grafted the movement onto American psychological thought.[1] A second personality, no less important in the American adaptation of the movement is Dr. A. A. Brill, of New York University, a prominent student of Freud who has translated the latter's major works into English and published them in the United States.

The bitterest opposition to the movement has come, of course, from the ranks of the psychologists, especially from those of the academic type who, like Watson, disavow all training or experience in the field of psychopathology. The validity of the psychologists' criticism must, however, be admitted in general. Stripped of its rancor, the criticism amounts to this: psychoanalysis and the psychoanalysts have remained obstinately impervious to the newer quantitative methods of modern psychology. Moreover, they have made little or no use of the experimental advances which are generally conceded to be the chief gains of the nineteenth century in this field.

The following are typical objections from representative psychologists: Pillsbury,[2] for instance, objects on the grounds that "Freud's conclusions seem to be based on the assumption that if you can't prove they are false, they must be true." Dunlap,[3] an able critic, feels that psychoanalysis "bids fair to become a formidable obstacle in the pathway of science for some years to come." Wohlgemuth's peeve, however, is that Freud should presume to rank himself with Copernicus and Darwin!

Among the milder and more sensible criticisms might be mentioned Jastrow's view[4] that "the critically minded will recognize the potent sweet of the Freudian clues, but will discredit the extreme deductions." Woodworth[5] says that "Freud has given an 'impressionistic' picture, very stimulating and provocative of further exploration but by no means to be accepted as a true and complete map of the region. . . . . Though his theories are open to

[1] At that time Clark University conferred the honorary degree of LL.D. upon Freud.

[2] W. B. Pillsbury, *History of Psychology* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1929), p. 265.

[3] Dunlap, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[4] Joseph Jastrow, "The Freudian Temper and Its Menace to the Lay Mind," *Century*, CXIX (1929), 29–38.

[5] Woodworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 508 and 569.

criticism, Freud has made important contributions to the study of personality."

It is perhaps unnecessary to remind the reader that Freud is not a psychologist and has never claimed to be one; he is a physician. His medical colleagues in the field of neuropsychiatry are therefore much more favorable to his ideas and influence than are the psychologists. This fact is clearly revealed in the attitude of representative psychiatrists.

Menninger[1] thinks that Freud's discovery of a method for dealing with the sub-surface content of the mind "is quite comparable to the discovery of the minerals beneath the earth's surface, ... and of far greater importance to the race." Hart,[2] of London, regards Freud as "probably the most original and fertile thinker who has yet entered the field of abnormal psychology." Bleuler,[3] the dean of German psychiatrists, feels that while some of Freud's particular assertions will not be maintained in the light of further experience, it is idle

> . . . . to belittle this investigator, as was the fashion, and it is unscientific to allow the emotions to play such an important part in the matter (discussion). . . . . Much of what Freud offered was, as is usual in such cases, not absolutely new, but he was the first to work it out into such clearness as to furnish a practical idea as to the foundation for further studies.

In a very recent book, Healy, Bronner, and Bowers say[4] that "For general understanding of the personality, there can be no minimizing the importance of psychoanalytic fundamentals. . . . . Thus psychoanalysis has attained the status of having, in method, become an instrument of psychological research into the depths of human nature. . . . ."

VIII

Before closing the Freudian account, so to speak, there are two or three items which it seems to the writer should be entered on the

[1] Menninger, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

[2] Bernard Hart, *The Psychology of Insanity* (Cambridge: University Press, 1923), p. vi.

[3] Eugen Bleuler, *Textbook of Psychiatry* (authorized English edition by A. A. Brill [New York: Macmillan, 1924]), p. 501.

[4] William Healy, Augusta F. Bronner, and Anna Mae Bowers, *The Structure and Meaning of Psychoanalysis* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1920), pp. xiv–xv.

credit side of the ledger. The first is the credit that is due Freud for abandoning hypnotism in favor of the cathartic principle. Hypnotism is a dubious, not to say dangerous, technique and should be employed only when all other methods fail. Paradoxical as it might appear, it seems not too much to say that if Freud had continued to use hypnotism as a therapeutic method, he probably never would have risen to eminence.

Another major contribution of Freud, often lost sight of in the heated discussion which the subject of psychoanalysis usually engenders, is the objective attitude with which he approaches the phenomena of sex. Thanks to Freud, Ellis, Krafft-Ebing, and the American social hygiene group, the sex problem is now being brought out into the open with the result that we shall soon be able to deal with these difficult problems in a truly scientific spirit.

In the opinion of the writer, Freud's greatest and most redeeming contribution—a contribution which none of his critics has conceded—is the impetus he gave to the mental hygiene movement. Sponsored as it was in the beginning by the psychiatrists, the mental hygiene movement has been influenced greatly by the psychoanalysts. Fortunately, however, it is rapidly sloughing off its ultra-Freudian tendencies, with the result that physicians, psychologists, social workers, and teachers are standing together on the general proposition—incidentally the major implication of psychoanalysis—that childhood is the golden age for personality guidance.

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THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN[1]

SOMEONE has said that a very significant and valuable person in our social progress will be the "imaginative statistician." Certainly he is somewhat rare; certainly, too, there await him such mines of information about ourselves, mines all but unworked and with their precious ore lying near the surface and easily dug out, that he can spend many years of what we hope will be a very long life-span, telling us true stories, more interesting by far than fiction. We postulate, along with his imagination, a sprightly literary style, and at his touch we expect to see these inanimate figures become sentient human beings, intent on squeezing from their threescore years and ten, the utmost they hold.

After all, there are hundreds of Balzac novels hidden in the census reports! It is only our limitation that prevents our being able to interest ourselves in 120 million human beings, their wishes and longings, and their way of going about fulfilling them. Dr. Hill's picture of the changes in women's employment helps us materially in our effort to visualize what has been happening to the employment of women in our country; and since, in 1920, practically one in every four women was employed in some gainful occupation, and one out of every five in the total working population was a woman, this is a picture of a large slice of our American civilization, including almost eight and one-half million women, and excluding some twenty-two and one-half million women who are housekeepers.

[1] *Women in Gainful Occupations 1870 to 1920. A Study of the Trend of Recent Changes in the Numbers, Occupational Distribution, and Family Relationship of Women Reported in the Census as Following a Gainful Occupation* (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Census Monographs IX). Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929. Pp. xvi+416. $1.50.

Variations in Employment Trends of Women and Men (U.S. Department of Labor, Bulletin of the Women's Bureau, No. 73). Washington: Government Printing Office, 1930. Pp. vii+143. $0.50.

A Study of the Factors Which Have Operated in the Past and Those Which Are Operating Now to Determine the Distribution of Women in Industry (Presented by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, December, 1929). London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1930 (Cmd. 3508). Pp. 33 9*d*.

Dr. Hill shows an interesting geographical distribution of gainfully employed women in 1920, the percentage of all women doing remunerative work being considerably higher in the industrial East, and decreasing as we go toward the agricultural Middle West and West, until the percentage rises again, in California. In New England, 32.3 per cent of the women sixteen years of age and over, were working for wages, whereas in the Mountain division this was true of only 17.9 per cent. Almost the same difference was true in comparing cities and rural communities; 31.9 per cent of the women in cities of more than 25,000 inhabitants were gainfully employed, as compared with 18.8 per cent of those living in small towns and rural districts. In the large cities, of 100,000 or more population, the proportion was higher: 37.2 per cent in Boston, 34.2 per cent in New York, for example, and 32.3 per cent in Chicago. The city of Washington showed the highest percentage—49.6. The eastern mill-towns showed a very high percentage in 1920, and it will be interesting to see what changes the 1930 census will record, after the migration of these industries to cheap southern labor, during the last decade. Of course, cities in which so-called "heavy industries" predominate, show a smaller percentage of women working in them; thus, in Detroit, 26.4 per cent of the women were gainfully employed; 28.0 per cent, in Pittsburgh; 21.3 per cent, in Youngstown.

Not only is there this marked difference between East and West, between city and country, but race and nativity determine marked differences as well. Of the native white women of native parentage, 20 per cent were gainfully employed. whereas the percentage was 29.2 for daughters of immigrants, and 43.7 per cent among colored women. Thus the daughters in immigrant families undoubtedly more frequently than daughters of native white parents find it economically imperative to earn a livelihood, but also the immigrant families are more likely to live in big industrial centers, where work outside of the home is to be found. The outstanding increase in employment was in clerical occupations, and it was here that the native white of native parentage had the greatest advantage in opportunities for schooling, if not in command of the English language. They also predominated as postmistresses, teachers, college presidents, professors, and librarians.

The Negro women showed a decrease in the percentage gainfully employed: 30.9 per cent in 1910, and 28.4 in 1920. It is interesting to speculate on the cause; possibly the boom of 1920 absorbed that reserve of colored labor, the last to be absorbed, and the first to be laid off, possibly their migration to the North and the demand for labor throughout the country raised wages, and the women were thus able to stay at home. The outstanding decrease was in the number and proportion engaged as domestic servant or laundress (not in a laundry). How far this is due to the unwillingness of women to enter these occupations and their alacrity in deserting them when industrial employment is available; and how far this, in turn, is influenced by the limitation of immigration; how far it is due to increased living costs, not only in servants' wages but in assaults from all sides upon the family budget; how far it is due to labor-saving machines which lighten housework, or to the convenient growth in the number of delicatessen shops and cafeterias (although here it would be difficult to disentangle cause and effect) no one can answer. However, the figures over a half-century leave no question as to what is actually happening, whatever the prime cause: in 1870, 60.7 per cent of the women in non-agricultural work were domestic servants, and in 1920 the percentage had declined to 18.2. There was an increase in Negro servants in the northern states: in Detroit, the increase was 331.7 per cent; in Cleveland, 193.6 per cent; in Chicago, 78.7 per cent.

Women have more than held their own in the teaching profession: in 1870, 66.3 per cent of the teachers were women; in 1920 the percentage was 81.7. One very striking change in employment is the fact that in 1870 there were "no telephone operators and very few stenographers and trained nurses. By 1920 these three occupations gave employment to nearly 900,000 women and girls." In 1910, only 25 women were reported as elevator operators, and ten years later 7,233 were so reported.

It is the Negro woman who most frequently finds it necessary to continue at paid work after her marriage; although only 9.6 per cent of all the married women in the country are colored, 34.5 per cent of the married women gainfully employed are colored women.

Nearly one-third of the married Negro women are earning money to help support the family. The percentage of married women who find it necessary to enter gainful employment is growing steadily: in 1890, 3.3 per cent; in 1900, 3.9 per cent; in 1910, 6.8 per cent; in 1920, 7.3 per cent. A larger percentage of the younger married women are breadwinners than of the older women.

It is very interesting to learn that because immigrant families drift to the industrial centers, the native-born daughters are able to find work in the same town, and to live at home; whereas, because the rural population is largely a native white population, the daughters often find it necessary to migrate to the city to find work; as a result, only 8.7 per cent of daughters in immigrant families in gainful occupations are boarding or lodging, as against 17 per cent native white of native parentage.

Of the total number of gainfully employed women, 15.1 per cent were the only breadwinners in the family; 5.9 per cent were supporting one or more dependents; 3.1 per cent, two or more; and 1.2 per cent, three or more.

These are only a few of the interesting changes in our industrial life presented in most readable form by Dr. Hill. The Bureau of the Census should be assured of our appreciation of this volume, making available for us an accurate picture of what is happening in women's employment thoughout the United States.

The Women's Bureau study of the employment trends of men and women was made at the request of a committee of the American Statistical Association which has been investigating the present methods of gathering industrial statistics in the various states with a view to suggesting possible improvement. The object of this present study was to learn whether employment trends for men and women were sufficiently similar, so that a single trend including both figures would not obscure, appreciably, the facts concerning women's employment. The result shows that in certain cases, one set of figures can be safely used for both, but in very important cases it would not register women's employment accurately at all.

The figures used are those collected by the Ohio Division of Labor Statistics, beginning with the year 1914, and continuing

through 1924. Ohio has reason to be especially grateful to the Women's Bureau, in that a gap for the year 1922, when the Ohio Division collected these statistics as usual, but failed to tabulate them, has now been eliminated at the Bureau's expense, these tabulations now having been made, and the figures printed and made available in the present study. The omission of the 1922 figures was especially unfortunate, as they throw light on the recovery from the 1921 depression; and every statistician who has worked with the Ohio statistics, so excellent in many other particulars, has longed to know what story they might tell. This the Bureau has now made possible, and we have a continuous set of figures, month by month, for eleven years.

Moreover, these are extremely significant years: starting in January, 1914, they give us a pre-war base, for comparison; they register the hesitation at the close of that year, in the first shock of the war, and then the rapid climb until our entry into the war, the gradual withdrawal of men, or the slowing up of increase in their number, and the more rapid rise in women's employment, due to the second selective draft and expansion of the war industries; the return of the men from the front, and the feverish rise to the peak of the 1920 boom, followed by the plunge into the 1921 slump. All these phases in such a full history of eleven kaleidoscopic years are mirrored in these employment figures.

The salient point brought out by the Bureau's study is that movements in men's and women's work may counteract each other, and result in a calm and unruffled surface-line in the total, which is utterly deceptive as a picture of the employment of either sex; or, again, the movement in sub-classifications may be violent, but completely submerged in a wider, all-inclusive classification. The main conclusions are that it is safe to let a single curve register employment of both sexes only in very carefully selected classifications; that classification itself is the important factor, as the trends move similarly much more frequently if a functional, occupational grouping is used, rather than an industrial classification; that it is not at all safe to be guided, in classifying, by the size of the percentage of women in the total group; and, finally, it is in just such times of special economic upheaval as occur in war, in strikes, in extreme

oscillations of the business cycle that the divergence of employment of the sexes is most marked, and also most important.

The study analyzes the long-time trends, and also the divergences in seasonal fluctuations, and includes an especially valuable analysis of the diverse effects of the war on various sub-groups. It uses a most ingenious and helpful mechanical device, in that the fifty-four accompanying charts are printed on thin transparent paper, all drawn to an identical scale, so that by holding any two up to the light, they may be readily compared.

No private agency will ever be able to approach the facilities at the disposal of our state departments for the collection of labor statistics; we all have to build our special analyses on those figures as the solid base, be it good or bad; therefore it is an extremely useful and important service which the Committee on Governmental Labor Statistics, of which Miss Mary Van Kleeck is chairman, is doing, in making that base as comprehensive and as true to line as possible. There is always the danger that as women are after all a small proportion in those figures, the facts concerning their employment will be lost sight of, and therefore this study by the Bureau, pointing out the places of special danger, is most valuable.

However, it is also extremely useful and enlightening in itself, and makes an especially felicitous combination with Dr. Hill's volume, or with former studies by the Women's Bureau itself, which show the trends in women's employment, for in the present study by the Bureau, we can study those trends in relation to the trend of men's employment.

The analysis in this study is written by Miss Mary Winslow, whose clear exposition we have learned to appreciate in many of the Bureau's earlier reports.

The study by the British Home Office, of the factors determining the distribution of women in industry, was undertaken to evaluate the claim of the so-called Open Door Council, that women's employment has been restricted by legislative action designed to maintain a minimum standard in their working conditions, a contention similar to that made in this country by the Woman's Party. It is no such exhaustive first-hand study as that made by our United States Women's Bureau, in Bulletin No. 65, *Effects of Labor Legisla-*

tion on the Employment Opportunities of Women,[1] and indeed, it disclaims any pretense to being comparable.

The British report is an analysis of data collected through the last forty years, showing the increase or decrease in the proportion of women employed by various industries. It is really a rapid, very general survey, in the form of a thirty-three-page leaflet, but it is also a summary of statistical material covering the greater part of the field of women's employment.

The data are divided into a textile and a non-textile group. In the former, women were 60.53 per cent of the workers in 1890; and 63.89 per cent in 1928, a growth of 3.36 per cent. Among non-textile workers, the growth was 11.58 per cent. The growth in the sub-classifications was as follows: china and earthenware, 12 per cent; food and drink, 20 per cent; tobacco, 9 per cent; metal, 6 per cent; printing, bleaching, dyeing, and lace-making, 5 per cent; clothing, 8 per cent; paper, printing, and stationery, 11 per cent; chemicals, 9 per cent.

It is but natural that the findings should be identical with those of the United States Women's Bureau. The determining factors, deciding what processes should be done by men, and what by women, were seen to be the amount of skill required and the time necessary for acquiring it; the amount of physical strength necessary; the attitude of local trade unions toward the employment of women, and their strength in imposing a restrictive policy; other opportunities for men in the local labor market; local tradition. In very few instances, infinitesimally few when we consider the size of the field covered by the statistics, the law prohibiting the employment of women at night had led to their exclusion, and even here there is usually no way of determining whether, in absence of such a law, they would have been given the jobs. The one outstanding example of restriction was in a flax and jute factory: "The firm intended at first to employ women by day and men at night, but it was felt to be unfair to keep men on a permanent night shift and the mill is therefore now being run entirely by male labour with the exception of six women winders who work on a day shift." There is a tendency to use a man instead of a woman in the few remaining very small

[1] See this *Review*, III, 346.

clothing shops, "where his larger output, partially helped by no fixed hours of employment, is valued on account of the limited space at the occupier's disposal." In laundries, it is work usually done by the men that is done at night, so that women cannot be said to be excluded from it by legislative restriction. In one tin-plate factory women were replaced by boys because the latter could work at night. It is not strange that work in bakeries should have been largely pre-empted by men, once we learn the heavy work it involves. Here women are given the processes that require deftness or lightness of touch, or repetitive light work such as labeling. The processes requiring night work are heavy processes always performed by men.

In new industries that have grown up in recent years, without any special tradition to determine what shall be men's or women's work, legislation is again seen to have excluded women practically not at all. In reeling artificial silks, special tanks have been invented to keep the "cakes" stored at the necessary humidity during the night, thus making night work unnecessary. In the cigarette industry, the invention of new machinery has shifted the proportion of the jobs given to men and women. In the making of gramophones, radios, and electrical fittings, "where the work is hot, heavy, dirty or wet, or where skill only to be acquired by long training is needed, the processes are for the most part carried out by men. Women are employed in light repetition work."

An entirely false impression is gained by thus citing the extremely few cases in which legislative restriction may have been a factor; it gives them an importance out of all proportion to single them out, without at the same time having a consciousness of the great numbers of women, hundreds of thousands, whose opportunity for employment has quite certainly been hampered not at all by legislation, which has, quite as certainly steadily improved the conditions under which they work.

If the Open Door Council replies to the report at all, it will, of course, make the most of these few cases of the possible restrictive effect of labor legislation; it will quite certainly claim, moreover, that whereas the proportion of employment allotted to women has grown, during these forty years when labor legislation has sought

to protect them, it would have grown much more without it. But if the analysis of the factors determining what part of the available work women shall do is correct, this claim cannot be substantiated.

Aside from the special question answered by the report, this analysis is in itself interesting, although not comparable to the light thrown on industry in this country by the thorough extensive research into this same question by the United States Women's Bureau.

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HOW FORD'S LOWEST-PAID WORKERS LIVE

THE Ford "wages policy" in America is too well known to need repeating here. By high wages and high production, made possible by scientific mass methods, the Ford Company has reduced costs and captured a great part of the automobile market. The growing world interests of the company, where it has now factories or assembling plants in all important European centers, naturally suggests whether the same policy which has been a success in America can also be applied in Europe. That this is in contemplation is seen by the fact that in the summer of 1929, the Ford Motor Company, Limited (London) asked the International Labour Office for information as to the minimum wage scale which should be paid in certain European cities where the Company had, or contemplated having, branches,[1] in order that their employees would have the same standard of living as that of the worker in Detroit, paid at the Ford minimum rate (now $7.00 a day for a five-day week). In other words, the Ford Company required to know what should be the daily minimum rate of pay in the currency of each country, in order to give the workers in these towns a "real wage" equivalent to that of the Ford worker in Detroit. Obviously, before this question could be answered, it was necessary to know what the Detroit worker could buy with his wage; to know his general standard of living. No information, however, existed on this point; but thanks to the collaboration of the Twentieth Century Fund, the Ford Company at Detroit, and the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, an inquiry was conducted on the spot by agents of the Bureau, who by house-to-house visitation obtained an account of the income and expenditure of 100 families.[2] In view of the purposes of the investigation, it was thought desirable to limit it as far as possible to homogeneous families who were, in fact, living en-

[1] The towns covered were London, Manchester, Cork, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Helsingsfors, Berlin, Frankfort, Warsaw, Paris, Marseilles, Genoa, Trieste, Barcelona, and Stamboul.

[2] The detailed results of this inquiry will be found in the *Monthly Labor Review*, June, 1930, published by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D.C.

tirely or almost entirely on the Ford minimum wage. A "natural family" of man, wife, and two or three children under sixteen was therefore selected, in which the husband was the sole breadwinner. This excluded single men in lodgings; married couples without children; married couples with children over sixteen contributing to the family income; families with lodgers or relatives; etc. The husband also must have been in the employ of the company for the whole of the year 1929. This does not mean that the husband earned on every possible day of the year (260 days); absences due to sickness, accident, annual vacations, general holidays, family circumstances, and temporary unemployment account for a loss of time. The average number of days worked, in the families studied, however, was 250 per annum. The whole purpose of the study was thus to determine how a certain defined type of family lived during the year 1929 on about $35 a week.

The general results of the inquiry may be summarized in Table I.

TABLE I

Average earnings of husband	$1,694.63
Average earnings from other sources	17.24
Total average income	$1,711.87
Average expenditure per family	$1,719.83
Average deficit for all families	$ 7.96
Average daily earnings	$ 6.78

It should be emphasized at the outset that these figures do not relate to a representative family but to a specially selected family of four to five persons as described above. The figures are not representative of workers' families in Detroit, *still less of the families of workers employed by the Ford Motor Company*, for they cover only families of which the head received the lowest wage scale in 1929. The average annual earnings of Ford employees must, of course, be higher than the foregoing figure.[1] It is not possible, therefore, to base any conclusions as to the "American standard of living" on the re-

[1] In December, 1929, the Ford Motor Company announced that 24,320 of their employees were affected by the decision to increase the minimum wage to $7.00 a day. All other workers amounting to 113,643 received an increase of 40 cents a day; of these 27,410 were increased to $7.20, 33,396 to $7.60, 22,971 to $8.00, 12,327 to $8.40, and 17,539 to between $8.40 and $10.00.

sults of this inquiry, though other interesting conclusions can be drawn from it, and some comparisons with other inquiries of a somewhat similar nature.

DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURE

The distribution of the average yearly expenditure is shown in Table II, together with the percentage spent on different groups:

TABLE II

	Amount	Per Cent
I. Food	$ 556.12	32.3
II. Clothing	210.67	12.2
III. Housing	388.81	22.6
IV. Fuel and light	103.20	6.0
V. Other expenses	461.03	26.9
	$1,719.83	100.0

In other words, the four chief groups (food, clothing, housing, fuel and light) accounted for 73.1 per cent of the total expenditure, and all other items 26.9 per cent. The proportion spent on food is fairly low and indicates a relatively high standard of living. It is well known that as income increases, the proportion spent on food decreases, and the percentage shown above is lower than that of any recent family budget studies.

A somewhat similar inquiry was made in Detroit by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics in the years 1918–19. On this occasion the inquiry comprised families of one child or more, and not families with two or three children under sixteen as in the present case; families in which only 75 per cent of the income came from the head of the family were also admitted. The results were given for families with different classes of income; for the present purpose families with a total income between $1,500 and $1,800 are selected (108 in number, and containing on an average 4.8 persons). The families compared in the two cases are not therefore strictly comparable. The figures are given in Table III, to which are added the results of the German family budget inquiry of 1927–28, the only recent European inquiry. The highest group of families, average income RM. 5,027, is taken for comparison.

It will be seen that the lowest expenditure on food and the highest sum available for miscellaneous expenditure is found in the Detroit families of 1929. If, as is now generally accepted by social investigators, the proportionate expenditure on food gives a rough indication of the standard of living, the Detroit families have a higher standard than the German worker.

TABLE III

PERCENTAGE EXPENDITURE ON DIFFERENT GROUPS

ITEM	DETROIT INVESTIGATION		GERMAN INQUIRY
	1929	1918–19	1927–28
Food	32.3	35.2	41.5
Clothing	12.2	15.8	14.6
Rent	22.6	18.3	14.1
Fuel and light	6.0	6.5	2.8
Furniture and furnishings	5.1	6.2	23.1
Miscellaneous	21.8	17.9	
Total	100	100	100
Average size of family	4.5	4.8	4.9
Average income	$1,712	$1,637	RM. 5,027

It would be of great interest to trace in detail the changes in the standard of living in Detroit during the last ten years, as shown by these two budgets inquiries, especially as the general level of the cost of living was approximately the same as the two dates. Unfortunately, the results of the earlier investigation were not published in sufficient detail to enable satisfactory comparisons to be made. Some general deductions, however, can be drawn. It will be seen that expenditure on food and clothing has decreased, while that on rent has increased. In respect of *food*, detailed information for each item was only published in 1918–19 for the U.S.A. as a whole and for certain areas (e.g., the north central states). Taking the figures for the north central states for comparison, the most striking fact is the great decrease in the consumption of beef from 201 pounds in 1918–19 per family per year to 134 pounds in 1929; of potatoes from 819 pounds to 590 pounds and of flour from 300 pounds to 198. On the other hand, the consumption of fresh milk has increased from 718 pints to 1,118 pints, of butter from 51 pounds to 66 pounds, of eggs from

77 to 121, of wheaten bread from 392 pounds to 520 pounds. There has also been a large increase in the consumption of fresh fruit and of canned vegetables. In respect of *housing*, the standard of accommodation seems to have slightly risen, the average number of rooms per family in Detroit was 5.4 in 1918–19, and 4.6 in 1929. On the other hand, the average price per room paid by the Detroit families of incomes between $1,500–1,800 was only $268 in 1918–19, compared with $389 in 1929, and the proportion of the income spent on rent correspondingly increased from 18.3 per cent to 22.6 per cent. *Fuel and light* show little change, except that bituminous coal has to a considerable extent replaced anthracite, and the consumption of electricity has increased from 165 kilowatts to 408. The most difficult group to compare is that of *clothing*. The number of articles for which comparisons can be made is very limited, and information (as in the case of food) is not available in 1918–19 for Detroit. On the whole, the number of articles bought shows a decline both for husbands, wives, and children, in the ten years, with the exception of silk and rayon goods, which show a fourfold increase in the case of women's stockings and a fivefold increase in the case of their silk dresses.

The general conclusion, based on somewhat slender evidence, seems to be that Detroit families are spending slightly less on food, a substantial decline in the consumption of fresh meat and potatoes being largely balanced by increased consumption of milk and butter, fresh fruit, and canned vegetables; that the standard of housing accommodation (including fuel and lighting) has changed little, though rents have risen; that there has been a considerable change in the kinds of clothing worn, and a decrease in the quantities of articles purchased. The increased diversity of tastes and the broadening of the basis of expenditure is evident from the increased amount (small though definite) in miscellaneous expenditures.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF FAMILY EXPENDITURE OF DETROIT FAMILIES IN 1929

The different groups of expenditure in 1929 are analyzed in further detail below.

1. *Food.*—This constitutes, as in all family budget studies, the

most important single item of expenditure. About one-third of the weekly income goes in food, although as indicated above this proportion is considerably smaller than is usually found in working-class families. The distribution of expenditure over the principal items is shown in Table IV.

TABLE IV

AVERAGE EXPENDITURE PER FAMILY ON FOOD

Item	Amount	Percentage of Total
Dairy products (milk, cheese, eggs, etc.)	$157.40	28.3
Meat, fish, and poultry	124.03	22.3
Bread, flour, and meal	64.57	11.7
Vegetables and fruits (fresh)	69.49	12.5
Vegetables and fruits (dried and canned)	21.58	3.9
Factory lunches and meals bought outside	19.68	3.5
All other items	99.37	17.8
Total	$556.12	100.0

Dairy products absorbed 28 per cent of the weekly food bill, followed by meat, fish, and poultry (22 per cent). These two groups alone account for one-half of the food expenditure.

The food value of the Ford workers' budget has been evaluated by the Bureau of Home Economics of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, which analyzed the "food content" of each article of food according to a table of equivalents prepared by the food experts of this Bureau. The results compared with the "standard" adopted by this Bureau are given in Table V.

TABLE V

ANALYSIS OF FOOD CONTENT PER EQUIVALENT ADULT, MALE

	Detroit Families	Standard Family
Calories	3,236.5	3,000–3,500
Protein (grams)	96.9	70–101
Phosphorus (grams)	1.58	1.38–2.75
Calcium (grams)	.987	70–1.02
Iron (grams)	.016	.015–.023

The food budget thus appears to be sufficient in quantity and well balanced as between the different constituents.

2. *Clothing.*—The average outlay for clothing was $210.67, or 12.2

per cent of the total expenditure. This expenditure was distributed as follows:

Husband's clothing	$ 63.59
Wife's clothing	59.21
Children's clothing	87.87
	$210.67

On an average the husbands buy a felt hat about once in two years, a wool suit every two and one-half years, an overcoat every seven years, and a sweater every three years. Each year the average husband purchases 5 shirts, 2 ties, 2 union suits (cotton), 14 pairs socks (cotton), 1 pair socks (silk or rayon), 2 pairs of shoes, 2 pairs work gloves (leather), and 9 pairs (cotton). Wives on the other hand buy on the average a wool coat every two and one-half years, 3 hats every two years, 1 pair of cotton gloves every two years, and a corset and brassière every two years. Each year the average wife purchases 2 dresses, 4 pairs stockings (cotton), 4 pairs stockings (silk or rayon), 2 pairs shoes, 3 house dresses, 2 petticoats or slips, 2 pairs of bloomers, 1 nightgown, and 1 pair of slippers.

For children, owing to the fact that the distribution by sex and age differed for each family, it is of no interest to give the average expenditure per 100 families. Table VI, however, shows, for those families having boys and girls within the age-groups given, the average expenditure on clothing per child.

TABLE VI

AVERAGE EXPENDITURE ON CLOTHING PER YEAR

Age Group	Boys	Girls
Under 4	$18.92	$19.71
4–8	31.43	29.86
8–12	43.91	40.00
12–15	57.32	45.37
15–16	68.55	75.70

Under four years of age there is little difference between boys' and girls' expenditure; from four to fifteen, boys seem to require more expenditure than girls; while over fifteen, girls cost more than boys. The average expenditure per child rises continuously with age. It is interesting to notice that in these 100 families it costs more to clothe a

boy of fifteen than a father, and much more to clothe a girl of fifteen than a mother (though not necessarily *his* or *her* father and mother).

3. *Housing.*—This item forms nearly a quarter of the total expenditure.

Out of the 100 families, 68 occupied a rented dwelling, and 32 were purchasing their homes. The principal characteristics of these dwellings are shown in Table VII.

TABLE VII*

	Renting Dwellings	Purchasing Dwellings
Number of families	68	32
Number of persons per family	4.5	4.4
Number of rooms per family	4.6	4.8
Number of families occupying three rooms or less	5	3
Number of families occupying four rooms and over	63	29
Number of dwellings containing bathrooms	52	20
Number of dwellings containing inside W.C.'s	60	26
Number of rooms equipped for heating	3.5	3.4
Average rent per year	$391.47	$375.31

* The average rent of home-owning families is based on the statements furnished by the occupiers; the actual payments were on the average higher, amounting to $512.10; the difference was treated as savings.

It will be seen that the housing standard is a fairly high one. A "typical" or model home might be described as follows: The family rents a separate house or whole floor, containing four or five plastered rooms and bathroom, inside toilet, running water. All rooms have outside windows. The house has at least one room per person and consists generally of two or three bedrooms, a living-room, and a kitchen. It has individual stoves with half of the rooms fitted for heating. The yearly rent is about $85 per room.

TABLE VIII

Anthracite coal (tons) 0.6	$ 8.59
Bituminous coal (tons) 4.1	34.98
Coke (tons) 1.3	10.41
Gas (1000 cu. ft.) 28.6	22.69
Electricity (kw.) 407.6	20.43
Kerosene, matches, candles, and wood	6.10
	$103.20

4. *Fuel and Light.*—The average cost of heating and lighting was $103.20 per year, or a little over $22 per room. The average spread over the whole 100 families was distributed as in Table VIII.

5. *Other items of expenditure.*—This group consists of all the remaining expenditure varying from necessaries, such as daily transport, to "optional" expenses, such as radios. It amounted on the average to $461 a year, or nearly 27 per cent of the total expenditure, distributed as in Table IX.

TABLE IX

DISTRIBUTION OF MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE

Furniture and house furnishings	$ 88.55
Life insurance	59.16
Sickness expenses	64.73
Street car and bus fares	37.40
Cleaning supplies and hairdressing	29.01
Education	6.41
Music lessons	2.61
Gifts outside family	5.66
Automobile, cost	40.11
Automobile upkeep and garage rent	38.45
Church, religious organizations, clubs, etc.	10.67
Motion pictures	5.55
Newspapers and magazines	13.52
Tobacco	19.68
Laundry sent out	4.23
Toilet articles and preparations	13.68
Vacation and travel	5.91
Other items	15.70
Total	$461.03

In view of the fact that this group is the one in which individual needs and tastes have their greatest range, and in view also of the small number of families on which the averages are based, it is not possible to draw any very definite conclusions from these figures. As the families were established families, the expenditure on furniture and furnishing was fairly small, about 5 per cent of the income.

Daily transport to and from work was incurred by nearly all families. Owing to the large area of the city, large distances had to be covered in many cases, 37 workers living more than 10 miles from the factory. The average distance was 8.2 miles.

Five families possessed a telephone, and forty-seven owned automobiles, but only eight used them regularly to go to and from their

work. Five families only reported expenditure for domestic service. Thirteen families owned pianos and forty-five phonographs and thirty-six radio sets. Every family except two possessed an electric iron, and half the families (49) an electric washing machine; twenty-one possessed vacuum cleaners. The number of modern conveniences is comparatively large considering the wage-class to which these workers belonged, but this is perhaps partly due to the fact that in every case the wife stayed at home and did the housework.

CONCLUSIONS

The new study of the standard of living of a small selected group of Ford workers families must not be taken as representative of the American standard of living. The group is a small homogeneous one fulfilling certain preliminary conditions. It shows, however, a reasonable standard of comfort, and their budgets appear adequate for health and efficiency. The problem now before the International Labour Office is to translate this budget into European prices, having regard to differences in climate and habits of living. This raises a number of interesting problems that cannot be treated here but will be fully dealt with when the final report of the International Labour Office is available.

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RECREATION AND THE SOCIAL READJUSTMENT OF CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS

A SURVEY of the opportunities for recreation in most communities indicates their rapid extension and a deepening appreciation of their importance. The staff and equipment of public parks and playgrounds, of neighborhood houses and social settlements, of churches and school centers, and of many other public and private ventures suggest to the social case worker possibilities for aiding case adjustments and for developing favorable and constructive attitudes in those individuals with whom they are working. Although the actual extent and availability of these resources often cause social workers much disappointment, careful analysis of such provisions show their value. The possibility of their wider and more scientific development and use is suggested. The important place of recreation in the treatment of some cases of conduct-upset is at once apparent. The stimulation of new and acceptable interests, which are to be substituted for old and undesirable ones in the building up of new behavior patterns in the individual, is a recognized necessity.

The wide and effective use of occupational therapy in the treatment of certain types of mental disease is a recognition of this scientific principle. In these cases of exaggerated behavior, where the pathology of the situation suggests the need of long-time and carefully supervised care, the value of the pleasant use of time and energy to the patient has been established. In such cases the doing of simple tasks gradually creates a new mental attitude which gives self-confidence and satisfaction. These materially aid his ultimate recovery to social usefulness. A new way of reacting to situations is thereby developed. Through the intelligent utilization of these newly formed outlets and of these newly acquired points of view, depressed negativism and other pathological manifestations may be largely replaced. The behavior of the individual becomes greatly altered. For the time being, at least, his adjustment appears satisfactory. He is in possession of certain activating interests and emo-

tional satisfactions that control his behavior and that open to him a new and satisfying mode of living.

In considering the important place of a well-organized, well-functioning, recreational program in meeting the adjustment problems of any community, it is of value to view in detail the methods of the occupational therapist. Her contribution in the treatment of the insane patient is specific and has great value. A visit to a ward of a state hospital, in which a good occupational program has been functioning, is most illuminating, particularly if the visitor has some knowledge of the characteristics and habits of the insane group in their traditional institutional setting. When it is found that one trained worker, with the help of co-operative attendants and interested medical staff, can provide satisfying and developmental activity to a whole ward of greatly varying patients, such service deserves attention. When it is possible actually to measure from day to day the degree of individual improvement, as indicated by more sustained attention, lessened irritability, cleaner personal habits, and an ever widening scope of acceptable interests in the patient group, one is impressed with the importance of understanding the method of such a worker. It may be profitable to carry over into other fields, concerned with human adjustments, some of the processes of rehabilitation that she so effectively uses in dealing with these extreme mental cases.

Even superficial study of her procedure indicates certain fundamental characteristics that draw favorable comment from any critical observer. In the first place this worker is a well-adjusted, excellently trained person who is able to approach this particular problem objectively and authoritatively because of her own scientific attitude, training, and experience. Her position is one calling for a great amount of personal stability, physical energy, and individual initiative. In most institutions these particular appointments are wisely reserved for the persons who merit selection. Such quality of staff directly influences the type of service rendered. There is general recognition by authorities that no one poorly qualified or carelessly selected could in any way meet the readjustment needs of a state-hospital group of seriously handicapped individuals.

In the second place, her services followed diagnosis by a medical

staff whose findings are based on careful clinical study and laboratory examination and whose prescriptions for therapy are the result of comparative observation and professional decisions. This defining of the specific problem involved in each case necessitates an individualized approach. It makes the contributions of the occupational therapist a definite and essential factor in the whole case-work process of which her service is only a part. The community is not much interested in developing a state-hospital proficiency in rug-weaving or leather-tooling or rhythmic dancing or music appreciation for maintenance or for achievement purposes alone. A deeper intent is more important. Such activities are means rather than ends, a part rather than the whole. This second important aspect of occupational therapy as seen within state hospitals suggests a wiser and a better-planned use of each person's free-time activities. Certain recreational experiences may be directly and constructively used in the development of personality. They are not only important in the readjustment of these patients showing acute conduct disorders but in the fuller development and better stabilization of the so-called normal individual in the community as well.

A third significant contribution from the methods of the occupational thereapist has to do with her stress upon preparation of the patient for his ultimate independent social existence, then quite apart from the supporting services of any institutional program and yet always dependent in considerable degree on the new modes of reacting to situations and on the new set of emotional satisfactions which have been set up by his hospital experience. Her contribution, as a staff member, is not limited simply to aiding the disturbed patient to make a safer and more contented physical adjustment during his institutional stay nor to offering him pleasant occupation and relief from routinized schedule. Moreover, she has only secondary interest in the smooth and easy running of the institution. This practical consideration alone, however, might well recommend to managing boards a more general acceptance of programs of occupational therapy. Such services are inconsequential compared to the equipping of the individual with those attitudes of mind and those mechanisms of behavior which will allow him to be a happy, and to continue to be a happy, well-adjusted individual after his release

from the institution. These will supply him indefinitely with certain tool materials by which he shall maintain his own mental adjustment and his social usefulness. This is the real purpose of the occupational therapist. In her philosophy of work there is much which is important and useful in the consideration of recreation as an aid in the adjustment of any individual. Much of her methodology and her point of view may be carried over into more general fields with profitable application.

This purposeful direction of recreational interests within insane hospitals is in sharp contrast with the inadequate attention paid to such activities in most institutions of the penal and reformatory group. Prison reform pointed out a long time ago the importance of providing a well-balanced program which might meet the individual needs of these incarcerated men. It clearly indicates the relationship between poor adjustment in prison, often resulting in open defiance and disastrous outbreaks, and idleness or monotonous occupation. It urges special provisions for shops, educational classes, libraries, physical exercise, and religious activities, partly to build up the prisoner but largely to aid prison administration and to lessen the abuse of authority with increasingly repressive methods of control and discipline. A survey of present-day programs within prisons shows how little real advancement has been made. There is little as yet that a prisoner can really do which is pleasant, constructive, and individually developmental. It is encouraging to note in passing that an effort is being made in the penitentiaries of the state of Illinois to provide an educational service which is offering certain satisfying outlets and which is giving a genuine re-creating interest to a considerable group of poorly adjusted violators.

Many problems, however, of prison administration deserve further consideration and study, because of their relation to the possibility or impossibility of developing a more acceptable recreational program. The persistence of antagonistic and retributive attitudes toward the offender by many people in the community limits the provisions for specialized care and training and makes many administrators peculiarly sensitive to the cries of "mollycoddling the criminal." Opposition to prison labor has effectively checked the development of prison industries, and it has on the other hand

expressed little concern for the forced idleness and concomitant problems of the unsettled prison population which result from such restrictions. The seriousness of the offense of many inmates must be considered and the extreme deviations in personality make-up as evidenced by the psychiatric study of this group might offer some important and valid limitations to a program of extreme individual freedom for all criminals. However, the practicability and economy of a carefully planned and well-personnelled program of occupational therapy, with its related recreational outlets for hospitalized psychotics, has already been established. From the encouraging successes in this field it may be inferred that the therapeutic values in a prison of a recreational program, individualized by a careful consideration of the peculiar demands and needs of the prisoner, as indicated by thoroughgoing case study, would outweigh danger and would justify costs for adequate equipment and for the payment of a well-selected, professionally trained staff to handle this important service.

Recognizing the difficulty of meeting these constantly recurring objections to a real alteration of recreational programs in existing penal systems, as logical and as important as these changes can be shown to be, it may be more conclusive to direct thinking to another group receiving specialized institutional care, and to consider the place of recreation in the retraining and redirection of boys and girls for whom the juvenile court has prescribed a period of correctional school placement. No one can now question the importance of a satisfying play-life for every adolescent boy and girl. At the same time no one can fail to recognize how inadequately many institutions for the care of juvenile offenders are meeting this important problem.

Intensive study of the recreational services of a typical group of state correctional schools for boys allows important challenging generalizations. There is general failure to recognize the importance of play activities as they are related to the better, immediate adjustment of the boy within the school. Particularly, there is an inability by staff members to see the proper relationship in many cases between a stinted and unsatisfying recreational program during training and the probability of a high recidivism rate for the institution.

Many unqualified employees interpret these recommitments as the result of too lax discipline, and too much good time, during the child's stay in the institution. They fail to see how their own lack of understanding and their own limited contributions to the growth- and security-needs of the boy might be specific factors in his failure to "go straight" after his parole into the community.

The complaint that institutional children cannot or will not play at all or play well is common. From two points of view such replies are significant. On the one hand, inability to play is in itself probably pathological. It suggests the need of carefully directed activities and the stimulation of new and acceptable outlets to replace in the boy deadened interests and to revive wholesome attitudes which probably have been stultified by overindulgence and exploitation by commercial recreation. Such self-asserted inability ought to suggest important changes in staff membership. On the other hand, such explanation may properly be intended to cover the school's incapacity to meet existing situations. Careful observation indicates that correctional-school boys have generally very high thresholds of emotional satisfaction. They cannot genuinely be satisfied with makeshift play arrangements and incompetent direction nor with a program which is so threadbare that monotony and routine crowd out initiative and personal achievement. Unfortunately occasional gala events, such as historical pageants, graduation exercises, military inspections, or even weekly motion pictures and occasional competitive games cannot adequately meet the needs. Such really offer little to the adjustment resources of the individual child. Rather to be developed is a program that insures natural and successful participation by all children. The splendid results of the exponent plan of organization for activities, by which every boy within the school, of great ability or with none at all, can add honors to himself and to his cottage group and by which he can find personal satisfaction and outlets through his recreational activities, suggest a wise answer to some of our institutional problems.

Maintainence- and production-demands on time and energy of both staff and boys are generally tremendous. Whether such excessive drive is due to an economic necessity or whether it is due to a wrongly conceived notion of the therapeutic value of an unending

work-program, it is not difficult to show the error of such conclusions. It is a false economy which saves dollars at the cost of a boy's training-time and it is a false psychology that emphasizes the reconditioning value of new stimuli which offer neither pleasure nor personal satisfaction to the youthful offender.

The well-functioning recreational program calls for trained leadership. Much of its value will depend upon the point of view, the skill, and the constant availability of these leaders. It is quite futile to expect overworked or disinterested or poorly selected house officers to carry successfully alone this important responsibility. It is even more dangerous to delegate it to immature boy officers who readily abuse authority and whose limitations further handicap rather than aid the developmental possibilities of recreation. Hours of basement marching in military formation, long periods of idle sitting, often in silence, and aimless loitering on poorly equipped and poorly personnelled playgrounds suggest correctable defects. They point to the need of special leaders who understand the problem and who have ability and vision to substitute a constructive, individualized activity-program in place of the laissez-faire methods which are now so generally the practice.

The tremendous influence of a well-directed recreational program soon makes itself apparent within the institution. The enthusiastic commendation of those managing officers who have seen and experienced the benefits of this real approach to the recreational needs of their children shows its value. Lessened discipline demands, easier adjustment of the group, evidences of individual growth and of changing patterns of behavior certainly outweigh the cost of the project. The knowledge that the boy is acquiring new and favorable attitudes, which bring him not only immediate happiness but greatly increased chances of ultimate community adjustment and usefulness as well, encourages further development of provisions for recreation. It should stimulate all workers with children to an insistence that this part of the child's growth-opportunities shall not be in the least neglected.

Most children, however, are not and never will be within institutions. While it is valuable for everyone to have an awareness of the importance of adequate recreational facilities for children or for

adults under institutional control and give active support to the improvement of the prevailing unsatisfactory methods, it is even more important that proper attention be paid to the place of recreation in the prevention of conduct disorders and to the supplying of adequate outlets and play resources to all children everywhere in order that their living might be normal, successfully contributive, and happy. It is not the plan of this paper to discuss the psychological factors of play as they relate particularly to the so-called normal individual, other than to suggest the close relationship between his needs and those of the behavior-problem group. Certain encouraging developments, however, which are now characterizing the whole recreational field, particularly as it relates to the better adjustment of the usual child, may be profitably pointed out.

In the first place research is now occupying an important place in recreation. The services of skilled and trained leaders are being made available for important studies directed toward a better understanding of recreational needs and toward determining the best methods of meeting these needs in varying communities and groups. Research people are emphasizing the importance of determining social interrelationships. They are stressing new concepts of recreational satisfactions based upon psychiatric findings and upon the methods of sound social case work. The scientific contributions of the Recreational Research Division of the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research are already far-reaching, particularly as they relate to problems of child adjustment and more particularly, as they suggest explanations of difficulties and new methods of approaching the needs of the juvenile delinquent. On the other hand the type of study, now being directed by Dr. Frederick Thrasher for the Bureau of Social Hygiene of New York City, in which there is careful investigation of group relationships and their significance, as evidenced in the Boys' Club movement, will offer important evaluations and will scientifically determine the worth of certain phases of community organization. We really know very little about the need of leisure, the use of leisure, or the best methods of supplying leisure-time activities. In fact around this question of leisure hinges a group of closely integrated problems which tie research in the recreational field with much in any or in all of the social sciences.

In the second place there have developed and there are developing increased resources for the training of recreational workers. Athletic prowess, extraverted personality, patronage claims, inavailability of better-trained applicants, and such are less and less factors in the selection of our recreational directors. This recognition of the increased value of any organization or to any community of the well-trained leader has expressed itself in higher standards for selection and in salary scales commensurate with the responsibilities of the position. The demand for trained personnel has encouraged the development of splendid training centers, equipped to give excellent instruction. Nevertheless, they have been handicapped considerably because we, as community people or agency and institutional directors, still fill these key positions with well meaning but poorly qualified persons, much as was done formerly in the probation field and in the field of family welfare until it was clearly evidenced by intensive survey that results were quite dependent upon the quality of service rendered. Reference again to the effectiveness of the trained occupational therapist in the state hospital and the complete inability of the untrained person to meet this strategic situation will emphasize the importance of professional training. It will suggest that individual adjustments and community problems will be influenced by the recreational worker only when such worker is trained and qualified to deal professionally with these situations. Training resources will be increased and bettered only as we raise service standards and reserve all positions for well-qualified workers.

In the third place, what we are doing for the individual child is being definitely and practically influenced by the things which research is finding out and by the new points of view which the trained worker has been able to introduce and encourage. The development in Germany and Austria of the kinderhort—public recreational centers offering after-school playtime care to children of employed mothers—affords an excellent example of this new philosophy. There was recognition of the citizens' or state's obligation to these children whose own home security was influenced by an economic situation, social in nature. There was moreover an appreciation of grave dangers to the child and therefore ultimately to the state itself if these needs were not promptly and adequately met by some

responsible agency. The care of the child's play-life became a public function. High standards of staff and service were instituted that it might be properly directed and safeguarded. Something of this same point of view suggests itself in the proposed legislation of the California Commission on the Care of Problem Children which would create a State Department of Play and Recreation and which would enable and encourage local communities to use tax levies to develop their recreational resources. This important committee sees therein a method of delinquency-prevention more effective and much simpler than any program for bigger and costlier correctional institutions could possibly offer.

Finally the close correlation between the child's recreational needs and his whole educational program is becoming more and more apparent. The modified curricula of many school systems, the increased attention in teachers' training courses to problems of mental hygiene and of pupil direction, the greater utilization of the school plant, the encouragement of the project method for the development of creative interests, and the increasing stress upon the preventive aspects of a well-functioning recreational program are encouraging developments. They point to the wise and general application of these research findings which should aid better pupil-adjustment and should encourage each child's individual development.

Recreation which provides one of the constructive approaches to satisfactory social adjustment is thus becoming an important part of many good programs for social treatment. It is increasingly an influencing factor in the service of many social case-work agencies which deal with the adjustment problems of greatly varying individuals.

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LIBERALISM IN THE SOCIAL TEACHINGS OF MRS. GASKELL

AMONG those apostles of liberal thought whose utterances in their own day, the middle decades of the past century, were listened to with attention and either accepted or rejected with equal enthusiasm, not the least significant was Mrs. Elizabeth Gaskell.[1] Lengthy controversial and critical articles attesting her great vogue appeared in contemporary reviews. Since her death in 1865 there has been almost continuous publication of biographical, appreciative, and critical study concerning her in volumes on social history, Victorian literature, and the English novel. British periodicals have been increasingly active in their notice of her in this century, particularly in 1910, the centenary of her birth. And yet Mrs. Gaskell both as a novelist and as a contributor to social progress has been subjected by well-known students in her field to singular misconception and neglect.

Mrs. Gaskell's views on certain fundamental problems which are vexing society today no less than they did three quarters of a century ago are views that we of today are just beginning to see the practical wisdom of. As such they merit attention. Minto, writing in 1878, thirteen years after her death, says of *Mary Barton* and *North and South:* "As long as the strife between labour and capital continues, this novel and its companion are likely to remain her chief distinction, and may be read to advantage by both parties to the dispute."[2] In fact, as long as there is need in the world for tolerance and conciliation born of intelligent sympathy and impartial judgment among individuals and classes and nations, any of Mrs.

[1] *Works*, with Introductions by A. W. Ward, "Knutsford Ed." (1906). (All citations from the novels are made from this ed.) Biographical and critical studies: E. H. Chadwick, *Mrs. Gaskell, Haunts, Homes, and Stories* (revised ed., 1913); Emile Montégut, "Le roman des moeurs industrielles en Angleterre (*North and South* de Mistress Gaskell)," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Vol. XII, 2e Série, 1853, pp. 115–46; Louis Cazamian, *Le roman social en Angleterre (1830–1850)* (1904), pp. 380–435; M. A. Bald, *Women Writers of the Nineteenth Century* (1923); Carola Wollweber, *Der Soziale Roman der Mrs. Gaskell* (1928); A. S. Whitfield, *Mrs. Gaskell, Her Life and Work* (1929).

[2] William Minto, "Mrs. Gaskell's Novels," *The Fortnightly Review*, 1878, p. 369.

Gaskell's novels may be read to advantage by both parties to the dispute. For the liberal spirit as she illustrates it means the application of Christian ethics to the immediate problems of life, the actual trying out of Christian principles—an age-old idea which is at the same time new in that it has never been fully adopted, mauger centuries of exhortation.

Descended on both sides from Unitarian stock, yet educated at an Anglican school, the wife of the Rev. William Gaskell, a prominent Unitarian minister in Manchester, she was singularly fortunate in the shaping elements of her life; they were all of a nature to foster instinctive tendencies toward liberalism. The impress of the Gaskells upon the social life of Manchester both high and low was far reaching and enduring. Mr. Gaskell attained the highest distinction in his denomination and also as professor of English history and literature at Manchester New College, while Mrs. Gaskell, amid untiring charitable work, the rearing of her children, and the writing of novels, found the leisure to be a gracious and brilliant hostess to most of the progressives of her time.

The publication of her novels of social reform brought enthusiastic letters from Miss Edgeworth, Ruskin, Kingsley, Carlyle, Hallam, Landor, Dean Stanley, Jowett, F. D. Maurice, Dickens, and Cobden. It brought her immediate recognition by the intellectual circles of the day and led to the forming of delightful personal associations with Darwin and Furnival, with the Arnolds, the Carlyles, the Brownings, with Thackeray and his daughters, with Ruskin, Dickens, Charlotte Brontë, and Harriet Martineau, with the sisters Catherine and Susanna Winkworth, prominent in philanthropic work and in the movement for promoting the higher education of women, with Thomas Wright, the prison reformer, William E. Forster, parliamentary reformer, with Baron Bunsen, the German theologian of liberal views, and others who ranked with the forward-looking minds of the day. On the Continent she was a frequenter of the brilliant *salon* of the Julius Mohls in Paris and was greatly admired by George Sand, Guizot, Jules Simon, Jean Ampère, and other intellectuals. Indeed, there is scarcely a name in the long list of Mrs. Gaskell's acquaintances that is not distinguished among the progressives of the period.

All of Mrs. Gaskell's work reveals a discerning interest in, a liberal tendency toward human problems—the tales, sketches, and essays contributed for nearly a decade to *Household Words*, the *Cornhill Magazine*, and *Frazer's*, her notable *Life of Charlotte Brontë*, and the novels. Of immediate value as an expression of her social teachings is the fiction based on the industrial life of Manchester—the novels, *Mary Barton* and *North and South;* the tales, *Lizzie Leigh* and the *Heart of John Middleton;* and the novels dealing with problems of personal ethics such as *Ruth.*

A dominant note in Mrs. Gaskell's liberalism is tolerance: social tolerance as expressed in strongly democratic tendencies relating her to Cowper, Crabbe, Hood, and Wordsworth, and religious tolerance as shown in a sympathetic but not uncritical portrayal of exponents of Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Dissenting faiths. Yet in insisting on the need for tolerance and consequent self-sacrifice she never advocates a doctrine of mild passivity. Against injustice—religious, social, political—she protests with no uncertain voice. For barring her fame as the author of *Cranford*, it is as the outspoken spokesman of the industrial classes that Mrs. Gaskell is best known. It seems appropriate, therefore, to consider first her novels of industrial life.

"Ay, London's a fine place, and finer folk live in it than I ever thought on, or ever heered tell on except in the story-books. They are having their good things now, that afterwards they may be tormented." (*Mary Barton*, p. 112.) This modern application of the parable of Dives and Lazarus made by John Barton, on his return from Manchester after the fatal Chartist expedition, was, in the mind of the radical labor faction of 1839, ominously prophetic of the road toward which it saw capital drifting in this mortal sphere. It is easy for the student of a later day to look back upon those troubled times in the history of British industry and discover ultimate and immediate causes if not cures for the conditions then active. It was not so easy then for the mill operators and the operatives, or, in the phrase of that day, the masters and the men, to perceive all the causes and the ultimate consequences which lay at the root of their mutual discontent. It is scarcely easier for these industrial classes in our own generation to take an intelligent attitude toward their grievances.

Mrs. Gaskell, after seventeen years of experience among the factory workers of Manchester, has described with unhesitating acumen the spiritual turmoil of the period, its physical manifestations, and the conditions out of which it grew. But like Galsworthy, with whom she shows a certain spiritual affinity, she as a novelist wisely desists from much formal theorizing over ultimate causes and from offering specific remedies. In fact, she disdains any knowledge of political economy (*Mary Barton*, p. lxxiv), though she had, according to Ward (*ibid.*, p. lii), read Adam Smith and perhaps other authorities. This modest denial of any knowledge of economic theory in an age when the dogmas of economic theory were in the mouths of all classes may simply mean that she could not accept the fundamental doctrines of such teachers as Adam Smith, Ricardo, and Malthus, men who had for decades been exercising on the minds of the British ruling class a shaping influence that was little short of sensational. This passage from one of her letters: "Edinburgh compared to London is like a vivid page of history compared to a dull treatise on political economy" (*Chadwick*, p. 122), shows that she may not have been unacquainted with that science, at least superficially. Mrs. Gaskell in her social beliefs belongs to the school of Ruskin and Carlyle, whose teachings directly oppose the doctrines of natural liberty or laissez faire, enlightened selfishness of employers, self-interest, and the inevitability of poverty. These ideas were directly responsible for the growth of an economic fatalism that controlled the minds of the ruling class and produced an economic deadlock between the industrial employer and employee that the Reform Bill did little to shake.[1] Possessed of a judicial mind and the clear conviction that no theory concerned with the adjustment of human relations, however logically formulated, will work if it disregards any of the human factors involved, she repudiated all the popular theory of her day and wrote only of what she saw and felt.

In spite of much contemporary opposition it was and still is the general opinion that her pictures are for the most part trustworthy. Contemporary and recent studies[2] in the history of the British cotton

[1] J. L. and Barbara Hammond, *The Town Labourer, 1760–1832* (1919), pp. 194 ff.; F. W. Hirst, *Adam Smith* (1904), pp. 188 ff.

[2] See, e.g., Joseph Adshead, *Distress in Manchester* (1842); Sir Edward Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain* (1835); Frederick Engels, *The Condi-*

industry when placed beside *Mary Barton* and *North and South*, show how accurately she read the temper of masters and men. Since the history of this industry has been called an epitome of the Industrial Revolution, since the industry was centralized in Lancashire with Manchester as a nucleus, since the revolutionary temper found its most complete expression in Chartism, *Mary Barton* and *North and South*, their scenes laid in Manchester, the plot of the former turning upon the Chartist failure, that of the latter upon subsequent events in the industrial war, must share in their importance with the social novels of Dickens, Kingsley, Miss Brontë, and Disraeli. Indeed, as a reliable portrayal of industrial problems they stand at the head of the group.

Mary Barton and *North and South* are a testimony of the war between labor and capital that has been intermittently active in Great Britain for nearly one hundred and fifty years. Specifically they picture the friction between masters and men in the cotton mills of Manchester. Though the conditions in each story arise from a different cause and occur at a different period, the result is identical: discontent fomented by a reduction in wages. The incidents narrated in *Mary Barton* occur during the Chartist agitation of 1838–39 precipitated by a period of acute distresss among the poor, particularly in the manufacturing towns. This distress in turn had resulted from several years of bad harvests with consequent rise of prices, fall of wages, and a parliament helpless to meet the crisis. Caught in this chain of cause and effect of which they do not understand the meaning, the working classes blindly try to grope their way out with naturally very lame results.

Between the publication of *Mary Barton* in 1848 and of *North and South* in 1855 national consciousness, quickened probably by the success of the continental revolutions of 1848, had been to some extent awakened to the miserable condition of the workers. During these years, too, Mrs. Gaskell, herself perhaps affected not only by

tion of the Working Class in England in 1844, translated by F. K. Wischnewetzky (1892), first issued in Germany in 1845; G. von Schulze-Gaevernitz, *The Cotton Trade in England and on the Continent*, translated by O. S. Hall (1895); Andrew Ure, *The Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain* with a supplement by J. L. Simmonds (1861); S. J. Chapman, *The Lancashire Cotton Industry* (1904); William Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (5th ed., 1912–15); J. L. and Barbara Hammond, *The Town Labourer, 1760–1832* (1919), and *The Skilled Labourer, 1760–1832* (2d ed., 1920).

the general feeling but also by broader personal experience—the association with such philanthropists as the Winkworth sisters—and by the strong objection raised in some quarters to her insistant championship of the labor class in *Mary Barton*, had come to be more aware that there was a master's side to the case than she had appeared to be in the earlier novel. For a much clearer insight into the workings of the employer's mind is given here than in *Mary Barton*. The industrial thread of *North and South* is concerned with the result of the growing American competition in the European cotton market, a difficulty foreseen by Lord Althorp as early as 1833 in his speech on the Factory Act of that year, and by Cobden in his remarkable pamphlet, *England, Ireland and America*, published in 1835. The situation through the late forties and early fifties, the period described in *North and South*, was such as to cause British manufacturers to reduce the cost of production with a consequent lowering of wages. Although the novel is written chiefly from the employer's point of view, the cause of the workers and their faith in the justice of their demands is never ignored, and the story of the great strike, precipitated by the announcement of a cut in wages with no reason vouchsafed, is handled with judicial impartiality.[1]

The mutual antagonism of men and masters as depicted in these two books is well expressed in the words of Nicholas Higgins, a leading trade unionist, and of Mrs. Thornton, the redoubtable mother of one of the most prominent manufacturers in Milton. Higgins says (*North and South*, p. 157):

> "Why, yo' see, there's five or six masters who have set themselves again' paying the wages they've been paying two years past, and flourishing upon, and getting richer upon. And now they come to us and say we're to take less. And we won't. We'll just clem them to death first; and see who'll work for 'em then. They'll have killed the goose that laid the golden eggs, I reckon."

It is the just complaint of a man who has been kept in entire ignorance of the just reason for the reduction—increasing American competition.

[1] Mrs. Gaskell and Dickens, with whom she was by now well acquainted, worked at the same time upon the same problem, *Hard Times* (1854) preceding the publication of *North and South*, by a year. But the method of the two books is so different as to preclude the need of any external testimony as to their having been composed in complete mutual independence. (See Ward, *North and South*, pp. xv ff.)

On the other hand, the operator's ignorance of the men's motives for hostility is equally blind. Asks Mr. Hale of Mrs. Thornton (p. 135):

"They are wanting higher wages, I suppose?"

"That is the face of the thing. But the truth is they want to be masters, and make the masters into slaves on their own ground. They are always trying at it . . . . if they turn out, they may'nt find it so easy to go in again. I believe the masters have a thing or two in their heads which will teach the men not to strike again in a hurry, if they try it this time."

A ridiculous exaggeration of the falsity of this assumption is expressed by Bounderby in *Hard Times* (Boston, 1890, p. 209):

"There's not a hand in this town, sir . . . . but has one ultimate object in life. That object is to be fed on turtle soup and venison with a gold spoon."

In *Mary Barton*, it is only after years of class warfare as a result of this kind of blind misunderstanding, sometimes silent, sometimes bursting out into strikes with all their attendant misery, including acute personal sorrow to individuals of both factions, that Mr. Carson in the name of capital and Job Legh in the name of labor come together in an informal way and discuss their mutual grievances. The producer, Mr. Carson explains, using the familiar argument, cannot produce for the sake of giving employment when there is no market for his goods. Under such conditions capital suffers as much as labor. Old Job replies, striking directly at the center of the trouble as the men see it:

"Not *as* much, I'm sure, sir; though I'm not given to political economy. I know that much . . . . I never see the masters getting thin and haggard for want of food; I hardly ever see them making much change in their way of living, though I don't doubt they've got to do it in hard times. But it's in the things for show they cut short; while for such as me it's in the things for life we've got to stint." [p. 447].

"But it was not the want of power I was talking on; what we all feel sharpest is the want of inclination to try and help the evils which come like blights at times over the manufacturing places, while we see the masters can stop work and not suffer. If we saw the masters try for our sakes to find a remedy—even if they could find no help—we'd bear up like men through bad times." [p. 449].

This expresses with unerring insight the view of the more intelligent, the more moderate type of workman, the type with which Mrs. Gaskell was most in sympathy. As she is not, here, a sentimentalist,

she does not allow this interview to usher in a complete and immediate regeneration of industrial society in Manchester. Neither Mr. Carson nor Job Legh entirely convinces the other on this occasion, yet they part with much better feeling than when they met, and the meeting is the beginning of a change.

> Many of the improvements now in practice in the system of employment in Manchester, owe their origin to short, earnest sentences spoken by Mr. Carson. Many and many yet to be carried into execution take their birth from that stern, thoughtful mind, which submitted to be taught by suffering [p. 451].

One of the ablest polemics directed against *Mary Barton* was the article by William R. Greg[1] in the *Edinburgh Review*, for April, 1849. Though brilliantly reasoned, his criticism is open to the same charge which he preferred against Mrs. Gaskell; namely, class prejudice, Greg's contention supporting the operators. The novelist took these strictures in very good part however, and without directly admitting her culpability in misrepresenting the relationship between employer and employee, she put into practice in her next novel on the subject certain principles enjoined by Greg. However, the similarity between precept and practice observable in the article and in the novel respectively may be due merely to coincidence. As already stated, between the publication of *Mary Barton* and *North and South*, social consciousness had begun to apprehend the need for amelioration of conditions among the working classes, so that the more equable picture described in *North and South* may actually owe little or nothing to Greg's objections to the novelist's earlier treatment.

The hand that drew the tragic figure of John Barton, respectable laborer, embittered by the failure of the Chartist movement and driven by inevitable steps to murder and to death from remorse—the most convincing of all the victims of the industrial war described in the first story—is discernible in the portrayal of John Thornton, the rich young manufacturer of Milton in *North and South*. Thornton is from the start intelligent, well though narrowly informed, having the capacity to give a genuine if often a slow hospitality to new ideas. The story of *North and South* is largely the story of Thornton's education in the moral if not legal justice of humane

[1] This article was afterward published in his volume, *Mistaken Aims and Attainable Ideals of the Artizan Class* (London, 1876).

treatment of his employees. It is through Thornton's experience with labor problems, enlightened by his contact with other forces, that the author most clearly defines the position of the more intelligent manufacturers. The resentment aroused in the operative by a master like Thornton is due not to the latter's deliberate or indifferent cruelty, but to mistaken principle.

Thornton believes in the paternal form of government of the men by the masters within the factory walls and, out of respect for that independence which the northern Englishman so much values, a policy of mutual non-interference outside. It was no business of the men to question the master's right to cut wages or to turn off hands, or to expect to be informed why these curtailments were necessary, any more than domestic servants should demand to be told why their mistress wished to reduce her butcher's bill. They are there simply to do as they are bidden like the machines which they operate. After hours they are at perfect liberty to do as they please, even if their improvident living leads them to the point of starvation.

Though he admits that the business interests of masters and men are identical, Thornton thinks that unity will not be achieved until some millennium. "Just as I fancy a republic the most perfect form of government. . . . . In the Platonic year it may fall out that we are all, men, women, and children, fit for a republic, but give me a constitutional monarchy in the present state of morals and intelligence" (p. 140). The course of history in the seventy-five years since these words were written seems to show that the "Platonic year" for both states and industries is yet far distant.

A variety of factors, which space will not permit of discussion, enters in to convince Thornton that he as an individual manufacturer must make at least a start toward that unity which may be completely achieved only in a remote future. As a result of his awakening, the men who had fought him for years as the hardest master in Milton come gradually to trust him and to realize in part that they are working in a common cause. In this case the novelist permits herself to introduce a specific reform. Thornton establishes a co-operative dining-room—he acting as a sort of steward in the purchasing of supplies and the workers paying rental for the room and kitchens. This incident reflects the popularity of the idea of co-

operation, which, springing from Robert Owen's successful experiments at New Lanark from 1799 to 1828, subsequently expanded into systems of various types. All these, proving impracticable, finally yielded to the superior organization established in 1844 at Rochdale about ten miles from Manchester, the system that became the basis of co-operative societies the world over and to whose eminently reasonable manifesto Mrs. Gaskell could have subscribed in full.[1]

This scheme of the co-operative dining-room is designed to show the awakening of an independent spirit in the working class. They come to see that they can rise only through their own efforts. Thus what Greg had called the mischievous doctrine taught in *Mary Barton*, that the poor were justified in looking to the charitable support of the rich, is here directly contradicted. The scheme would also, she thought, be a step in bringing about better feeling between the opposing factions, but that it could be only a step she saw clearly. Thornton, after explaining the system to an interested member of parliament, says that such relations are not going to end strikes. "My utmost expectation only goes so far as this—that they [these experiments] may render strikes not the bitter, venomous sources of hatred they have hitherto been" (*North and South*, p. 516). These words show clearly her attitude toward the strike. As an advocate of mediation and arbitration, though she does not use these terms, she always deplores violence whether exercised by masters or men. Hence she seems to disapprove of the trade union, which used the strike as its most effectual weapon. For the union had too often been driven into being solely for purposes of defense. While she admits the necessity of defense, she none the less deprecates that necessity. The abuses of the unions pictured less convincingly in *Hard Times* but with moving reality in *Mary Barton* and in *North and South* foreshadow only too clearly the defects in unionized labor of the present time.

To the problem of social immorality Mrs. Gaskell brings an equally intelligent insight. Two of the three instances she relates occur among the working-class population of Manchester in stories written about the same time. The first case reflects the conventional manner

[1] Charles Gide, *Consumers' Co-operative Societies* (New York, 1922), p. 35 f.

of fiction and the attitude of society. Esther, the aunt of Mary Barton, deluded into the belief that she was to become a fine lady, disappears from home for many years to return a penitent dying of consumption. Lizzie Leigh, in the tale of that title, starts out in much the same way, but is rescued by her mother and taken back to her country home, where she spends her days in obscurity and good works. Ruth is spared from the beginning all the degradation of the others and is led not only to reinstate herself in society, but to win there a respected place. There is evident here an interesting progression of treatment.

Ruth, like the novels of the Brontës, provoked a storm of protest (*Ruth*, pp. xii ff.) from that class of people whom Thackeray was pleased to call the moral immoralists. But there were notable exceptions to this attitude, among them the unsigned article "Ruth and Villette" in the *Westminster Review* for April, 1853, and letters to Mrs. Gaskell from the mother of Dean Stanley and from Bunsen, Hallam, Kingsley, Dickens, John Forster, Cobden, Florence Nightingale, and F. D. Maurice (*Ruth*, pp. xiii–xvi).

The story of the girl's temptation and sufferings and struggles upward, helped by the needs of her child and the wise and loving care of the Bensons, is told with rare and sympathetic insight, yet never for a moment is the moral gravity of Ruth's position minimized. When Mr. Benson and his sister speak together of the coming child, his reply to her, at first disposed to take the conventional stand, expresses the novelist's own view: "You must not confound the sin with the consequence. This child may prove a blessing to take her out of herself and to set her on the right way." Mrs. Bellingham, the mother of Ruth's seducer, sends her fifty pounds and the advice to enter a penitentiary. The Bensons, living in modest circumstances, readily acquiesce in Ruth's desire to return the money, and they adopt her into their own family. This is Mrs. Gaskell's rebuke to a pharisaical society ever ready to cast the first stone.

It was once objected that the author might have pointed a stronger moral had she made Ruth homely, older, and more aware of the significance of her act, and had she placed her heroine in circumstances less favorable to regeneration; in other words, perverted human nature for the sake of the moral. But the achievement of the

well-nigh impossible is not the moral Mrs. Gaskell wishes to point here. Her purpose is identical with Hardy's in *Tess:* to show that youthful innocence can commit a wrong of this kind and yet remain pure in mind. Neither Ruth nor Tess had been instructed. Tess is pitifully made to reproach her mother. Mrs. Gaskell is a little evasive about a parent's duty in this matter. The supreme instance of Ruth's innocence is her joy over the knowledge that she is to have a child.

It is instructive to compare Mrs. Gaskell's attitude on this question with that of her great contemporary, George Eliot, as illustrated in their fiction. The former's position is the more advanced. In no case does George Eliot allow an opportunity for reinstatement, though her introduction of this problem is later than Mrs. Gaskell's by several years. One cannot escape the feeling that Hetty Sorel and Maggie Tulliver meet their fate to point the conventional moral. Mrs. Gaskell endeavors to show, hesitantly in *Lizzie Leigh* but with entire openness in *Ruth*, that one mistake of this sort made in the ignorance of early youth does not argue unredeemable depravity and therefore should not condemn the offender to lifelong ignominy. The author of a well-known work on English fiction has directly misread not only Mrs. Gaskell's intention but her words when he states that Ruth became a nun. Ruth's life after she had been taken home by the Bensons at the beginning of her trouble moved freely among the friends she made in Eccleston. Finally, through her services to the town hospital during an epidemic of fever, her reputation was completely cleared in the public mind of the shadow that had fallen upon it after the accidental revelation of her unfortunate past. Since Mrs. Gaskell is trying to show in these stories that girls like Lizzie Leigh and Ruth Hilton can by proper treatment be made into useful members of society, she would certainly have defeated her end had she shut up her heroine in a convent.

George Eliot, who was not always a sound critic of fiction, complains characteristically that the scenes and persons of *Ruth* do not become typical (Cross, *Life*, 1885, I, 219). She, too, misunderstands Mrs. Gaskell's purpose here, which is to present the unusual and particular as opposed to the usual and typical.

Another aspect of this problem in which Mrs. Gaskell shows her-

self a progressive is that of marriage as social salvation. Just as the farmer in Galsworthy's *Eldest Son* repudiates marriage for his daughter, so Ruth refuses to listen to the flattering offer of Bellingham. The struggle for her was very difficult because she had really loved Bellingham. But the years of experience which had elapsed since the memorable day when he had left her ill and helpless at a country inn had undeceived her and she has the courage to say to him when he urges her to take the step for the sake of the child:

> "If there was one thing needful to confirm me, you have named it. You shall have nothing to do with my boy, by my consent, much less by my agency. I would rather see him working on the roadside than leading such a life—being such a one as you are. . . . . If there were no other reason to prevent our marriage but the one fact that it would bring Leonard into contact with you, that would be enough." [p. 300].

That Mrs. Gaskell is entirely aware of the difficulties imposed by our complex civilization upon the handling of such a case as this is shown by the deception to which Ruth's benefactors think it necessary to resort in order to receive her into their home without scandalizing the town of Eccleston. A wedding ring is placed on her finger and she is made to pass as a widow. A similar deception is attempted upon Noel Pierson in *Saint's Progress*, but with different consequences. Noel after a time indignantly flings away this emblem of respectability so anxiously tendered by her aunt, preferring to face the consequences rather than bow to a pharisaical convention. The difference in the conduct of these girls is not, however, due entirely to a difference in the age, to the fact that a girl of 1919 would dare to act more independently than a girl of 1853, though the age has of course much to do with it. Ruth is younger and less sophisticated than Noel; she is not like the latter surrounded by sympathetic relatives, but dependent upon the chance generosity of utter strangers who were treating her as a daughter. And the family was a minister's family. What could she do but submit?

The facile imagination of Miss Benson further invents a deceased husband in the person of a young surgeon. "You know he must have been something; and young surgeons are so in the way of dying. . . . . After all if we are to tell a lie, we may as well do it thoroughly or else it's of no use," she explains (p. 149).

But the brother's conscience is not so easily set at rest by this sophistry.

"If it were not for the child I would tell all; but the world is so cruel" (p. 149). Here again Mrs. Gaskell resembles Galsworthy in her clear insight as to where the ultimate responsibility for individual wrong doing so often lies, not with the individual but with society. She resembles him also in her fearless presentation of both sides of a question without forcing an authoritative answer from herself. Does Mrs. Gaskell think the lie told and lived for years by the Rev. Thurston Benson and his sister Faith to save Ruth and her child from the persecutions of a cruel world justifiable? Instead of a long, condemnatory dissertation on the Bensons' conduct, her only comment made upon Mr. Benson's yielding to the temptation of his sister's scheme is: "It was the decision—the pivot, on which the fate of years moved; and he turned it the wrong way" (p. 121). She fortunately chooses the dramatic method, doing equal justice to the respective views of brother and sister, but apparently identifying her own position with that of the minister. He was wrong in the last analysis, but he had almost more than mortal justification. Thus does Mrs. Gaskell face this complex question with an entirely open mind and greatly to her credit, she brings neither the tempter nor the tempted to poetic justice.

The open-mindedness so admirably displayed in her treatment of social and ethical problems is equally present in her studies of religious characters. Virtues and failings are detected alike in Churchman and Dissenter, and in the story of *The Poor Clare*, the noblest character is a Roman Catholic priest. Much of her genial satire on human frailty in ministerial garb is put in the mouths of servants whose shrewd, unconscious wit and ready tongues often blurt out unpalatable truths. It is a tribute to the serenity and sanity of her temperament that deeply religious as was her own nature, some of her best humor appears in the depiction of gentlemen of the cloth. Inimitable in their blending of depth of insight, humor, and sympathy are the pictures of ministerial households in *Ruth*, *North and South*, and *Cousin Phillis*.

Throughout Mrs. Gaskell's studies of religious characters—for, to repeat what was said earlier, religious problems she altogether

avoids— there is present the craving for a better mutual understanding between members of diverse faiths; hence, she frequently brings them together in some secular or undenominational relation. Thus she anticipates the modern solution of the affiliation of different religious groups.

Even infidelity does not shake Mrs. Gaskell's tolerance. She can look with gentle indulgence upon the apocalyptic visions of the Methodist Bessey Higgins and with sympathetic understanding upon her father's unbelief. Nicholas Higgins' views express the common attitude of the independent labor radical who resented the position of both church and chapel toward the poor, with their insistence upon submission, dependence, and the acceptance of charity.

> "I believe what I see and no more . . . . when I see the world going all wrong at this time o' day, bothering itself wi' things it knows nought about, and leaving undone all the things that lie in disorder close at its hand—why I say, leave a' this talk about religion alone, and set to work on what yo' see and know. That's my creed. It's simple, and not far to fetch, nor hard to work" [*North and South*, p. 105].

If Mrs. Gaskell is sympathetic with this view, it is because she understands the reason for it; that she does not consider it unalterable is seen by Higgins' subsequent tentative gropings toward a better faith.

Mrs. Gaskell's presentation of the social conditions and currents of thought affecting the England of her day is able but limited: on the religio-scientific controversy, on educational reform, on the administration of justice, on political questions she has little or nothing to say. There is a mild foreshadowing of the feminist movement in *Cranford* (1851), where it is said of Miss Deborah Jenkins, although she dressed in a cravat and a little bonnet-like jockey cap, which gave her altogether the appearance of a strong-minded woman, "she would have despised the modern idea of women being equal to men. Equal—indeed! she knew they were superior" (p. 15). A more certain indication of Mrs. Gaskell's interest in the rights of women is her support of the Married Women's Property Bill, the petition in favor of which she was one of the first to sign, along with Harriet Martineau and Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

A prediction of the growing feminine consciousness of its own powers may possibly be detected, also, in Mrs. Gaskell's preference for strong-minded heroines, often with intellectual tastes and accomplishments. They more nearly approach the heroines of Meredith, who are in turn more nearly akin to the women of the present generation than perhaps any others in Victorian fiction, and her work was nearing completion as his was beginning. In an age when Dickens, Tennyson, Thackeray, Reade, Kingsley were glorifying the woman of submissive type, George Eliot, Charlotte and Emily Brontë, and Mrs. Gaskell, all strong-minded women themselves, are conspicuous for endowing their women with minds.

It would be idle to take exception to Mrs. Gaskell for her limited canvas, to point out that she did not paint as broadly as Disraeli, Kingsley, Reade, Dickens. If her work is narrower in scope than theirs, it finds compensation in quality. The brilliant superficiality of Disraeli, the hysteria, the sentimentality of Kingsley and Reade, the romantic exaggeration of Dickens pale before the clear realities of Mrs. Gaskell's descriptions. *Hard Times* and *North and South*, handling the same problem in the same era, resemble each other as the obvious lines of a cartoon resemble the subtleties of line and color in a finished picture. What is significant for the liberal spirit of her work is the fact that this reality is not due merely to a trick of artistry, but is founded upon actual conditions. All that is known of her method of writing goes to show that she took pains to ascertain the facts. She wrote of what she saw and knew and with the possible exception of *Mary Barton* she formed her opinions with serene impartiality.

The complex problems growing out of human relationships she was far sighted enough to realize could not be solved in a day, nor could any permanent solution be brought about by force. She was in accord with that wise doctrine of the positivists, which political society has yet to recognize the truth of; that no amount of legislation will be efficacious unless public sentiment has first been educated to receive it. Were she living in this generation she would in all probability be found allied with the liberal party, deploring the present reversion to force by both the ultra-conservatives and the radicals.

The heart of the difficulty in human relationships, she felt, lay in the failure, whether deliberate or unconscious, to live according to the simply defined principles of Christian ethics. She bitterly deplored the social sanction of the sheep's clothing for the ravening wolf. "True, his vengeance was sanctioned by law, but was it less revenge?" she says of Mr. Carson, grimly determined that the law shall do its worst upon the murderer of his not wholly innocent son: "Are ye worshippers of Christ or of Alecto? Oh, Orestes! You would have made a very tolerable Christian of the nineteenth century" (*Mary Barton*, p. 247).

Paul Elmer More, writing in 1908 of Mrs. Gaskell's social doctrine that the spirit of Christ should be acknowledged as the regulating law between both parties to an industrial dispute, finds it strangely old fashioned: "How far we have removed our theories from that simple trust!" he exclaims (*Shelbourne Essays*, 5th Series, p. 77). But since 1908, if not before, there have been forces at work in the economic world reflected in leading business journals and in the practice of commercial and industrial institutions which go to show that it is Mr. More rather than Mrs. Gaskell who has become strangely old-fashioned. The majority of present-day thinkers and some capitalists are coming to realize that no relations if they are human can be satisfactorily maintained without the presence of human sympathy, of rational, imaginative grasp of the opposite point of view. This is what she means by acknowledging the law of Christ in economic disputes; this is her fundamental doctrine.

We of today who read Mrs. Gaskell, her work completed shortly after the middle of the last century, cannot help being aware of how often she touched hands not only with our present but with our future. Much which she advocated for the betterment of society has been tried since she ceased writing in 1865, but much, which though difficult is not impracticable, remains to be done. As such she belongs in the group with Carlyle, Ruskin, and Arnold, with Dickens and George Eliot and others of their time, the essential spirit of whose teachings is yet to bear full fruit.

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SOURCE MATERIALS

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF "PENITENTIARY HOUSES"

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE penitentiary idea was born a little more than a century and a half ago. The bill creating the first so-called "Penitentiary Houses" was introduced in the House of Commons by Sir William Eden (afterward Lord Auckland) in 1778. This was the great decade of John Howard and also the decade of the American Revolution, which had put an end to the well-established policy of the transportation of convicts to the trans-Atlantic colonies. The publication and presentation to Parliament of Howard's *State of the Prisons* had led to the passing of the two acts of 1774 which are frequently referred to as "Howard's Acts"—these were the act that had to do with the discharging of acquitted prisoners (14 Geo. III, c. 20) and the "act for preserving the health of prisoners in gaol and preventing gaol distemper" (14 Geo. III, c. 59). The idea of "penitentiary houses" may also be attributed to Howard, but the act of 1779 was Eden's and Blackstone's. The Webbs, in their history of English prisons[1] in the "Local Government Series," say that in the latter part of Howard's decade "the intellectual lead in prison reform had been taken by men of larger outlook than Howard, chief among them Sir William Blackstone, then at the height of his influence, and Sir William Eden." The Webbs are undoubtedly right in thinking that Blackstone, rather than Howard, helped Eden[2]

[1] *English Prisons under Local Government*, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, with a Preface by Bernard Shaw (London, 1922). An invaluable bibliography will be found, as usual, in the Webb footnotes.

[2] William Eden (1744–1814), author of *Principles of Penal Law* (1771). In 1772 he was selected to fill the office of secretary of state. Eden became Lord Auckland in 1793. He had undoubtedly been influenced by Beccaria's great work *Dei delitti e delle pene*, translated in English in 1768 as "Crimes and Punishments." See Coleman Phillipson, *Three Criminal Law Reformers*, pp. 120–21.

with the new statute for "penitentiary houses." We present therefore in this number, first, the Act of 1779 and, then, an extract from Blackstone's well-known discussion of punishment. The first edition of Blackstone's *Commentaries* appeared before 1779, and the discussion of the new "penitentiary houses" from which prisoners were to be "restored to society penitent and useful" seems to have appeared first in the ninth edition of the *Commentaries*.

The account given by the Webbs of the drafting of the Bill is of interest:

> Taking for granted, as the basis of decent prison administration, Howard's four principles of secure and sanitary structure, systematic inspection, abolition of fees and reformatory regimen, Blackstone and Eden drafted a comprehensive Bill, laying down, in connection with the proposed erection of one or more national penitentiaries (made necessary by the sudden arrest of transportation to North America by the American War of Independence, 1776–83), a highly developed system of prison discipline. This discipline involved the adoption of certain administrative devices, each of which was destined, in after years, to become the subject of controversy, sometimes as to its intrinsic utility, sometimes as to the relative scope to be given to it. The most novel was the principle of non-intercourse among the prisoners themselves, to be secured by solitary cellular confinement at night and when not at work, and, so far as practicable, by continuous supervision during associated labour and exercise. With this went the exaction from every prisoner of labour of "the hardest and most servile kind in which drudgery is chiefly required." On the other hand, it was contemplated that this labour should be profitable, it being expressly provided that both officers and convicts should be stimulated by sharing in the profits. Moreover, the severity both of the confinement and of the labour was to be graduated, not according to the offence of the prisoner, but according to his good behaviour in prison, and to the term for which he was committed. A definite regimen intended to secure the maximum of health and the minimum of pleasure was settled for all, including the regular supply of coarse but nutritious food, perfect cleanliness, a fixed daily routine, prison clothing and the total exclusion of luxuries and amusements. With this regimen went the enforced attendance at frequent religious services. Finally, we have the highly praiseworthy innovation of an organized attempt to provide employment and encouragement for the convict on his discharge.[1]

One very important point to be noted in connection with this first Penitentiary Act is the recognition at this early date of the

[1] Webb, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–39.

necessity of the setting-up of these new prisons by the central government. It is true that English local prisons continued to exist for approximatey another hundred years (until 1877); but, as the Sidney Webbs point out in their invaluable history, the English national or central government assumed "the duty of establishing and maintaining prisons" as a result of the Revolutionary War, which suspended the transportation of convicts to our shores.

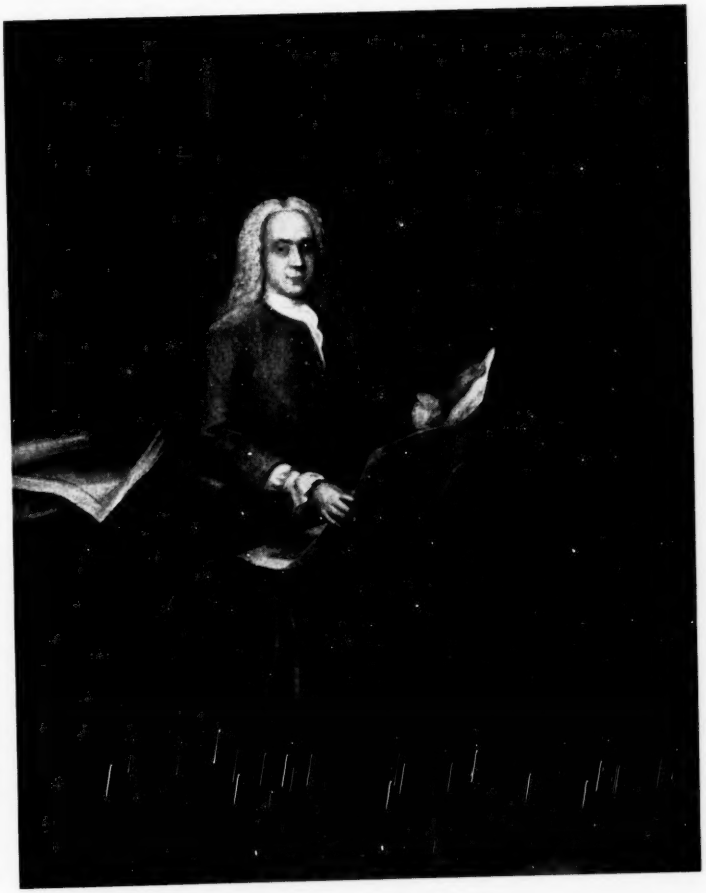
After the passing of the Act of 1779, three "supervisors" were appointed to set the new act in motion and to supervise the building of the first "penitentiary house." The three commissioners were John Howard himself; his friend, Dr. John Fothergill,[1] the Quaker philanthropist; and Whatley, another philanthropist, well known by his work for the Foundling Hospital. The death of Blackstone in 1780 removed the man who had the greatest influence on the plans for the Act. Fothergill also died later in the same year. The other two prison commissioners, Howard and Whatley, could not agree on a site for the first penitentiary; and the erection of the new and greatly needed prison (Millbank) did not actually go forward until 1812. Again the comment of the Webbs is interesting:

> What the Government intended [they suggest] was to erect, under the Act of 1779, one or more penitentiaries on the most approved lines, in which the convicts who could no longer be transported to America might be put to hard labour, and—the most important point—kept for long terms from molesting English society. Unforeseen difficulties in the extraordinarily incompetent administration of those days, prevented any of the penitentiaries under the Act of 1779 from being built. Meanwhile, the urgency passed away when it was decided to transport the convicts to the newly discovered continent of Australia. During the next three-quarters of a century this transportation to Australia continued.[2]

It has seemed appropriate at this time, along with Margaret Wilson's eloquent denunciation of English prisons—and, in fact, of all prisons—to publish these eighteenth-century documents dealing with the new "penitentiary houses," which were once looked upon as a great measure of social reform.

[1] See *Dr. John Fothergill and His Friends*, by R. Hingston Fox, chap. xvi.

[2] Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 46.



DR. JOHN FOTHERGILL
1712–1780

The First Penitentiary Act, 1779[1]

WHEREAS the punishment of felons, and other offenders, by transportation to his Majesty's colonies and plantations in America, is attended with many difficulties: be it therefore enacted That, after July 1, 1779, when any person . . . . shall be lawfully convicted of any grand or petty larceny, or any other crime for which he or she is or shall be liable by law to be transported to any of his Majesty's colonies or plantations in America, or if any person convicted of such crime hath already been ordered to be so transported, but such order hath not yet been executed, it shall and may be lawful for the court before which any such person hath been or shall be so convicted, ... to order and adjudge that such person shall be transported to any parts beyond the seas, whether the same be situated in America, or elsewhere, in such and the like manner, and for any term of years not exceeding such and the same term as and for which such person is or shall be liable to be transported to any of his Majesty's colonies and plantations in America aforesaid; any law, statute, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding. . . . .

And whereas the punishment of burning in the hand, when any person is convicted of felony within the benefit of clergy, is often disregarded, and ineffectual; and sometimes may fix a lasting mark of disgrace and infamy on offenders, who might otherwise become good subjects, and profitable members of the commonwealth; be it therefore enacted, That, from and after the passing of this act, when any person shall, in any of the courts before mentioned, be lawfully convicted of any felony within the benefit of clergy, or which he or she is liable by law to be burned or marked in the brawn of the left thumb, it shall and may be lawful for the court before which any person shall be so convicted, or any court holden for the same place with the like authority, if such court shall think fit, instead of such burning or marking, to impose upon such offender such a moderate pecuniary fine as to the court in its direction shall seem meet; or otherwise it shall be lawful, instead of such burning or marking in any of the cases aforesaid, except in the case of manslaughter, to order and adjudge that such offender shall be once, or oftener, but not more than three times, either publicly or privately whipped, such private whipping to be inflicted in the presence of not less than two persons, besides the offender and the officer who inflicts the same; and in case of female offenders, in

[1] "An Act to Explain and Amend the Laws Relating to the Transportation, Imprisonment, and Other Punishment, of Certain Offenders," 19 George III, c. 74 (1779), in *Great Britain Statutes at Large*, XXXII, 417.

the presence of females only; and such fine or whipping, so imposed or inflicted instead of such burning or marking, shall have the like effects and consequences to the party on whom the same, or either of them, shall be so imposed or inflicted, with respect to any discharge from the same, or other felonies, or any restitution to his or her estates, capacities, and credits, as if he or she had been burned or marked as aforesaid. . . . .

And Whereas, if many offenders, convicted of crimes for which transportation hath been usually inflicted, were ordered to solitary imprisonment, accompanied by well-regulated labour, and religious instruction, it might be the means, under providence, not only of deterring others from the commission of the like crimes, but also of reforming the individuals, and inuring them to habits of industry; be it therefore further enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, in his privy council, to appoint three persons to be supervisors of the buildings to be erected in pursuance of this act, and from time to time to remove them, or any of them, and appoint others in the place of such as shall be so removed, or shall die, or resign their trust; and the said supervisors, or any two of them, shall, as soon as conveniently may be, fix upon any common, heath, or waste, or any other piece or pieces of ground, which may be lawfully purchased under the powers of this act, and which shall be situated within any one of the counties of Middlesex, Essex, Kent, or Surrey, upon which they, or any two of them, shall erect, or cause to be erected, two plain, strong, and substantial edifices or houses, which shall be called *The Penitentiary Houses*, for the purpose of confining and employing in hard labour, in one of the said houses, such male convicts, and in the other, such female convicts, as, in pursuance of the powers hereinafter contained, shall be ordered to imprisonment and hard labour: provided always, That in fixing upon such piece or pieces of ground as aforesaid, regard shall be especially had to healthiness and the accommodation of water, avoiding, as far as possible, any place where other buildings are or may be erected contiguous to, or within a small distance from the outward fence or enclosure of such houses, or a situation within any populous town: provided also, That the situation and other circumstances of such piece or pieces of ground shall be reported to and approved of by the lord chancellor, the speaker of the house of commons, the justices of the courts of king's bench and common pleas, the barons of the coif of the court of exchequer, and the Lord Mayor of London, for the time being respectively, or by any eight or more of them, before the same shall be finally fixed upon, or any purchase made of the same. . . . .

And be it further enacted, That the said supervisors, or any two of

them, shall contract with proper persons for erecting such penitentiary houses, together with the several buildings and inclosures thereunto belonging, and shall superintend the erection of such houses and buildings, and the due performance of such contracts as shall be entered into touching the same; and the said penitentiary houses shall be made sufficiently large to contain, the one of them 600 male convicts and the other of them 300 female convicts; and each of such houses, or the buildings and inclosure thereunto belonging, shall contain proper storehouses, warehouses, workhouses, and lodging-rooms, an infirmary, a chapel and burying-ground, a prison divided into dark but airy dungeons, a kitchen garden, and also proper airing grounds, yards, offices, and other necessary apartments for the several officers and servants hereinafter directed to be appointed. . . . .

And be it further enacted, That when the said penitentiary houses shall be erected, and so fitted up as to be ready or nearly ready for the reception of the offenders hereinafter directed to be sent thereto, the committee shall elect such officers as are hereinafter directed, and shall make provision for stock and materials for the use and employment of the offenders to be confined in the said penitentiary houses; and also shall make orders for the regulation of the said houses, and of such offenders, in such cases as are not by this act particularly provided for. . . . .

And . . . ., That for the regulation and management of each of such penitentiary houses, and previously to the opening thereof for the reception of offenders, there shall be elected and appointed by the said committee, a governor, a chaplain, a surgeon or apothecary, a storekeeper, and a taskmaster; and also, in the house set apart for female convicts, a matron; and in each of them, such other officers as the said committee, with such approbation, confirmation, and allowance, as aforesaid, shall judge necessary. . . . .

And . . . ., That when the penitentiary houses, hereinbefore directed to be built, shall be fitted and completed for the reception of offenders, and proper officers shall be appointed for the care and management thereof, the said committee shall certify, under their hands and seals, to the justices of the court of King's Bench, that such houses are so fitted and completed, and that such officers have been appointed; and after the making of such certificate, where any person shall, at any session of oyer and terminer, or gaol delivery, to be holden for the county of the city of London, or the county of Middlesex, or during the assizes for any other county within that part of Great Britain called England, or at any great session to be holden for the county palatine of Chester, or within the prin-

cipality of Wales, be lawfully convicted of grand or petty larceny, or any other crime for which he or she shall be liable by law, either under this statute or any other statute now in force, or hereafter to be made, to be transported to any parts beyond the seas, it shall be lawful for the court before which any such person shall be convicted, or any court held for the same place with like authority, if such court shall think fit, in the place of such punishment by transportation, to order and adjudge that such person shall be punished, by being imprisoned and kept to hard labour, in one of such penitentiary houses, for any term not exceeding two years, in case of petty larceny; and for any term, if such offender be a male, not less than one year, or if such offender be a female, not less than six months, nor exceeding, in either case, five years, if he or she is liable by law, on account of any other crime, to be transported for seven years; and for any term not less than two years, nor exceeding seven years, in case any such offender is liable by law to be transported for fourteen years. . . . .

And, for the more severe and effectual punishment of atrocious and daring offenders, be it further enacted, That . . . . where any male person . . . . at any gaol delivery, ... shall be lawfully convicted of grand larceny, or any other crime, except petty larceny for which he shall be liable by law to be transported to any parts beyond the seas, it shall and may be lawful for the court before whom any such person shall be so convicted, or any court holden for the same place with like authority if such court shall think fit, in the place of such punishment by transportation, to order and adjudge that such person, appearing to be of competent age, and free from any bodily infirmity, shall be punished by being kept on board ships or vessels properly accommodated for the security, employment, and health of the persons to be confined therein, and by being employed in hard labour in the raising sand, soil, and gravel from, and cleansing the river Thames, or any other river navigable for ships of burden, or any port, harbour, or haven, within that part of Great Britain called England, such river, port, harbour, or haven, being previously approved and appointed for that purpose by order of his Majesty in his privy council, or in any other service for the benefit of the navigation of the said rivers, port, harbours, or havens, or in any other public works upon the banks or shores of the same, under the management and direction of such superintendent or superintendents as hath been or shall be appointed, for the river Thames, by the justices of the peace for the county of Middlesex, and for other rivers, ports, harbours, or havens, by the justices of the peace for the counties wherein such rivers, ports, harbours, or havens,

are situated, or of such of the counties next adjoining to the same, respectively, as his Majesty in council shall direct at their quarter or other general session of the peace, for such term, not less than one year, nor exceeding five years, or in case such offender shall be liable to be transported for fourteen years, not exceeding seven years, as such court of oyer and terminer, or gaol delivery, shall think fit to order and adjudge. . . . .

And be it further enacted, That every such governor of each of such penitentiary houses shall, during the term prescribed for the imprisonment and hard labour of such offender, keep him or her, so far as may be consistent with his or her sex, age, health, and ability, to labour of the hardest and most servile kind, in which drudgery is chiefly required, and where the work is little liable to be spoiled by ignorance, neglect, or obstinacy, and where the materials or tools are not easily stolen or embezzled, such as treading in a wheel, or drawing in a capstern, for turning a mill or other machine or engine, sawing stone, polishing marble, beating hemp, rasping logwood, chopping rags, making cordage, or any other hard and laborious service; and those of less health and ability, regard being also had to age and sex, in picking oakum, weaving sacks, spinning yarn, knitting nets, or any other less laborious employment: and if the work to be performed by any such offenders shall be of such a nature as may require previous instruction, proper persons shall be provided to give the same, by order of the said committee, to whom a suitable allowance shall be made.

And . . . ., That such offenders as shall be sent to either of such penitentiary houses shall, during their hours of rest, be kept entirely separate and apart from each other, and be lodged in separate rooms or cells, not exceeding twelve feet in length, eight feet in breadth, and eleven feet in height, not less than ten feet in length, seven feet in breadth, and nine feet in height, and without any window within six feet of the respective floors; which rooms or cells shall be dried and moderately warmed, in damp or cold weather, by flues from the fires in the kitchens, and other public fires belonging to each house; and the said offender shall also, during their hours of labour, in case the nature of their several employments will permit, be in like manner kept separate and apart from each other; and where the nature of the employment may require two persons to work together, the room in which such two persons shall work shall be of suitable dimensions; and if the nature of the work wherein any such offenders shall be employed shall require the labour of many persons at one time, a common work-room, or shed shall be allotted to them for that purpose; but during the time the offenders are employed in such common

work-room or shed, the governor of the said house, or the taskmaster, or one or more of their servants or assistants, shall be constantly present, to attend to the behaviour of such offenders; and such two or more persons shall not be suffered to continue together, except during the hours of labour, and divine service, and the times respectively allotted for their meals and airings.

And . . . ., That such offenders shall be employed in work, at the said penitentiary houses, every day in the year, except Sunday, Christmas Day, and Good Friday, and also except such days when ill health will not allow of their working; and the hours of work in each day shall be as many as the season of the year, with an interval of half an hour for breakfast, and an hour for dinner, will permit, but not exceeding eight hours in the months of November, December, and January, nine hours in the months of February and October, and ten hours in the rest of the year; and when such hours of work are passed, the working tools, implements, and materials, or such of them as will admit of daily removal, shall be removed to places proper for their safe custody, and there be kept till the hour of labour shall return.

And . . . ., That every offender who shall be ordered to either of such penitentiary houses shall, during the time of his or her confinement therein, be fed and sustained with bread, and any coarse meat, or other inferior food, and water or small beer; and also be clothed with a coarse and uniform apparel, with certain obvious marks or badges affixed to the same, as well to humiliate the wearers as to facilitate discovery in case of escapes; the whole to be ordered in such manner as the committee aforesaid shall from time to time appoint for those purposes; and no such offender shall, during the time of his or her confinement, be permitted to have any other food, drink, or clothing, than such as shall be so appointed; and if any person or persons shall wilfully supply any such offender at any time during the term of his or her confinement, with any food, drink, or clothing, other than such as shall be so appointed, or with any money, he or she so supplying such offender shall, for every such offense, forfeit a sum not exceeding ten pounds, nor less than forty shillings.

And . . . ., That no officer or servant of either of such penitentiary houses shall supply any of the offenders therein with money, clothing, provisions, or diet, or with any spirituous or other liquors whatsoever, except such money, clothing, provisions, or diet, or such water and small beer, as the governor of the house shall from time to time permit or direct, and except such diet and liquors as the surgeon or apothecary attending such house shall think proper to order for such offenders, in case of illness;

and in case any such offender or servant shall be found guilty of carrying to any such offender, or of knowingly permitting to be carried to any such offender any money, clothing, provisions, or diet, or liquors whatsoever, contrary to the intent of this act, such officer or servant shall immediately be suspended by the said governor, who shall report the same to the committee at their next meeting; and such committee shall enquire thereof upon oath, and shall punish such officer or servant by forfeiture of office, by any fine not exceeding ten pounds, and by imprisonment for any term not exceeding six months, or by any one or more of such punishments, as the said committee shall, in their discretion, think proper.

And . . . ., That when any offender, who shall be ordered to hard labour in either of such houses as aforesaid, shall be brought thither in pursuance of the powers contained in this act, he or she shall be separately lodged, and washed, cleansed and purified, and shall then be examined by the surgeon or apothecary, and shall continue in such separate lodging until it be certified by such surgeon or apothecary that he or she is fit to be received among the other convicts, and the clothes in which he or she shall then be clothed shall be burnt, if necessary, or otherwise shall be sold and disposed of, at the discretion of the governor, and the produce thereof shall be accounted for to the committee aforesaid; and such offender shall not be dismissed at the end or other determination of his term, unless at his own request, if he shall then labour under any acute or dangerous distemper, nor until he can be safely discharged; and when such offender shall be finally discharged, such other decent clothing as shall be judged necessary and proper by the committee aforesaid, shall be delivered to such offender, and also such sum of money, for his or her immediate subsistence, as the said committee shall think proper, so as such sum shall not exceed three pounds, nor be less than twenty shillings, in case such offender shall have been confined in such pententiary house for the space of one year, and so in proportion for any shorter term of confinement; and if such offender, at the end or other determination of his or her term, shall procure any reputable master of a ship, or tradesman, or other substantial housekeeper, to take him or her into service, or provide him or her with proper employment for one year then next ensuing, the same to be approved by the committee aforesaid, he or she, having served accordingly, shall be entitled at the end of the year to another sum of money, equal to that which was allowed to him or her at the time of his or her dismission.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That the several offenders to be sent to each of such penitentiary houses shall be divided into three

classes, which shall be called *The First, Second,* and *Third Class;* for which purpose the time for which such offenders shall severally be committed, shall be divided into three equal parts; and during the first part of the time of the imprisonment of every such offender, he or she shall be ranked in the first class, and during the second part of such time, he or she shall be ranked in the second class, and during the third and last part of such time, he or she shall be ranked in the third class; and the confinement and labour of such offenders as shall from time to time be ranked in the first class, shall be the most strict and severe, and the confinement and labour of the offenders ranked in the second class, shall be more moderate, and the confinement and labour of those ranked in the third class, shall be still more relaxed; which several degrees of confinement and labour, so to be affixed to each class, shall from time to time be settled by the said committee, by orders of regulation to be approved of in manner aforesaid, but so as not to defeat or elude the special provisions made and appointed by this act.

Provided also, That it shall and may be lawful to and for the governor of each such houses to employ, at his discretion, any of the offenders aforesaid, who shall be ranked in the said third class, as servants, overseers, or assistants, in the management of the works, and care of their fellow prisoners, instead of being confined to such their daily labour as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, That each of the lodging-rooms which shall be appointed in the said penitentiary houses, for the offenders so confined therein, shall be provided with an iron bedstead, with matting for lying upon, one or more hempen sheets, a coverlet, and two or more coarse blankets; and no person, except the officers and servants of the house, and such person or persons as shall be authorized by order of any two of the committee aforesaid, shall be permitted to go at any time into such lodging-rooms, or to see or converse with the offenders; and every night of the year the doors of all such lodging-rooms shall be locked, and all lights therein extinguished, after the hour of nine; and a watchman shall patrole each of such penitentiary houses at least twice in every hour during the night, and until return of the time of labour in the morning of the next day. . . . .

And be it further enacted, That there shall be, adjoining to each of such penitentiary houses, one or more large and airy yards or places, enclosed and properly secured, in which, and on the top of such house, if the building will admit such convenience, the offenders ordered to be confined in such house shall be permitted to walk and air themselves, for

such stated time as their health may require, and the governors shall respectively permit; and if proper employment can be found, such offenders may also be permitted to work in such yards, instead of their lodging-rooms or work-rooms; but such airing or working in such yards shall never be permitted unless in the presence or within the view of the governor or task-master, or some of their servants or assistants. . . . .

And be it further enacted, That every offender, who shall be ordered to hard labour in the custody of such superintendent or superintendents as aforesaid, shall, during the time of such service, be fed and sustained with bread, and any coarse meat, or other inferior food, and water or small beer, and also clothed, at the discretion and under the direction of such superintendent or superintendents; and such offender shall not during the term of such service, be permitted to have any other food, drink, or clothing, than such as shall be so directed; and if any person shall supply any such offender, at any time during the term of his said service, with any drink, food, or clothing, other than such as shall be so directed, or with any money, he or she so supplying shall, for every such offense, forfeit a sum not exceeding ten pounds, nor under forty shillings.

And . . . ., That if any offender, who shall be so delivered to such superintendent or superintendents to be kept to hard labour, shall, during the term of such service, refuse to perform any labour authorized by this act, or shall be guilty of any other misbehaviour or disorderly conduct, it shall be lawful for the superintendent or superintendents, having the custody of any such offender, to order such whipping, or other moderate punishment, to be inflicted upon him, as may be inflicted by law on persons committed to a house of correction for hard labour. . . . .

Blackstone on Crimes and Their Punishments[1]

The nature of crimes and misdemeanors in general being thus ascertained and distinguished, I proceed, in the next place, to consider the general nature of punishments: which are evils or inconveniences consequent upon crimes and misdemeanors; being devised, denounced, and inflicted by human laws, in consequence of disobedience or misbehaviour in those, to regulate whose conduct such laws were respectively made. And herein we will briefly consider the power, the end, and the measure of human punishment.

1. As to the power of human punishment, or the right of the temporal legislator to inflict discretionary penalties for crimes and misdemeanors.

[1] From Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (new edition; London, 1813), Book IV, chap. 1, pp. 6–17; chap. 28, pp. 336–38.

It is clear, that the right of punishing crimes against the law of nature, as murder and the like, is in a state of mere nature vested in every individual. For it must be vested in somebody; otherwise the laws of nature would be vain and fruitless, if none were empowered to put them in execution: and if that power is vested in any one, it must also be vested in all mankind; since all are by nature equal. Whereof the first murderer Cain was so sensible, that we find him expressing his apprehensions, that whoever should find him would slay him. In a state of society this right is transferred from individuals to the sovereign power; whereby men are prevented from being judges in their own causes, which is one of the evils that civil government was intended to remedy. Whatever power therefore individuals had of punishing offences against the law of nature, that is now vested in the magistrate alone; who bears the sword of justice by the consent of the whole community. And to this precedent natural power of individuals must be referred that right, which some have argued to belong to every state, though, in fact, never exercised by any, of punishing not only their own subjects, but also foreign ambassadors, even with death itself; in case they have offended, not indeed against the municipal laws of the country, but against the divine laws of nature, and become liable thereby to forfeit their lives for their guilt.

As to offences merely against the laws of society, which are only *mala prohibita*, and not *mala in se;* the temporal magistrate is also empowered to inflict coercive penalties for such transgressions: and this by the consent of individuals; who, in forming societies, did either tacitly or expressly invest the sovereign power with the right of making laws, and of enforcing obedience to them when made, by exercising, upon their non-observance, severities adequate to the evil. The lawfulness therefore of punishing such criminals is founded upon this principle, that the law by which they suffer was made by their own consent; it is a part of the original contract into which they entered, when first they engaged in society; it was calculated for, and has long contributed to, their own security.

This right therefore, being thus conferred by universal consent, gives to the state exactly the same power, and no more, over all its members, as each individual member had naturally over himself or others. Which has occasioned some to doubt, how far a human legislature ought to inflict capital punishments for *positive* offences; offences against the municipal law only, and not against the law of nature: since no individual has, naturally, a power of inflicting death upon himself or others for actions in themselves indifferent. With regard to offences *mala in se*, capital punishments are in some instances inflicted by the immediate com-

mand of God himself to all mankind; as in the case of murder, by the precept delivered to Noah, their common ancestor and representative, "whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." In other instances they are inflicted after the example of the Creator, in his positive code of laws for the regulation of the Jewish republic; as in the case of the crime against nature. But they are sometimes inflicted without such express warrant or example, at the will and discretion of the human legislature; as for forgery, for theft, and sometimes for offences of a lighter kind. Of these we are principally to speak: as these crimes are, none of them, offences against natural, but only against social rights; not even theft itself, unless it be accompanied with violence to one's house or person: all others being an infringement of that right of property, which, as we have formerly seen, owes its origin not to the law of nature, but merely to civil society.

The practice of inflicting capital punishments, for offences of human institution, is thus justified by that great and good man, sir Matthew Hale: "when offences grow enormous, frequent, and dangerous to a kingdom or state, destructive or highly pernicious to civil societies, and to the great insecurity and danger of the kingdom or its inhabitants, severe punishment and even death itself is necessary to be annexed to laws in many cases by the prudence of lawgivers." It is therefore the enormity, or dangerous tendency, of the crime that alone can warrant any earthly legislature in putting him to death that commits it. It is not its frequency only, or the difficulty of otherwise preventing it, that will excuse our attempting to prevent it by a wanton effusion of human blood. For, though the end of punishment is to deter men from offending, it never can follow from thence, that it is lawful to deter them at any rate and by any means; since there may be unlawful methods of enforcing obedience even to the justest laws. Every humane legislator will be therefore extremely cautious of establishing laws that inflict the penalty of death, especially for slight offences, or such as are merely positive. He will expect a better reason for his so doing, than that loose one which generally is given; that it is found by former experience that no lighter penalty will be effectual. For is it found, upon farther experience, that capital punishments are more effectual? Was the vast territory of all the Russias worse regulated under the late empress Elizabeth, than under her more sanguinary predecessors? Is it now, under Catherine II less civilized, less social, less secure? And yet we are assured, that neither of these illustrious princesses have, throughout their whole administration, inflicted the penalty of death: and the latter has, upon full persuasion of its being

useless, nay even pernicious, given orders for abolishing it entirely throughout her extensive dominions. But indeed, were capital punishments proved by experience to be a sure and effectual remedy, that would not prove the necessity (upon which the justice and propriety depend) of inflicting them upon all occasions when other expedients fail. I fear this reasoning would extend a great deal too far. For instance, the damage done to our public roads by loaded wagons is universally allowed, and many laws have been made to prevent it; none of which have hitherto proved effectual. But it does not therefore follow, that it would be just for the legislature to inflict death upon every obstinate carrier, who defeats or eludes the provisions of former statutes. Where the evil to be prevented is not adequate to the violence of the preventive, a sovereign that thinks seriously can never justify such a law to the dictates of conscience and humanity. To shed the blood of our fellow-creature is a matter that requires the greatest deliberation, and the fullest conviction of our own authority: for life is the immediate gift of God to man; which neither he can resign, nor can it be taken from him, unless by the command or permission of him who gave it; either expressly revealed, or collected from the laws of nature or society by clear and indisputable demonstration.

I would not be understood to deny the right of the legislature in any country to enforce its own laws by the death of the transgressor, though persons of some abilities have doubted it; but only to suggest a hew hints for the consideration of such as are, or may hereafter become, legislators. When a question arises, whether death may be lawfully inflicted for this or that transgression, the wisdom of the laws must decide it: and to this public judgment or decision all private judgments must submit; else there is an end of the first principle of all society and government. The guilt of blood, if any, must lie at their doors, who misinterpret the extent of their warrant; and not at the doors of the subject, who is bound to receive the interpretations that are given by the sovereign power.

2. As to the end, or final cause of human punishments. This is not by way of atonement or expiation for the crime committed; for that must be left to the just determination of the Supreme Being: but as a precaution against future offences of the same kind. This is effected three ways: either by the amendment of the offender himself; for which purpose all corporal punishments, fines, and temporary exile or imprisonment are inflicted: or, by deterring others by the dread of his example from offending in the like way . . . . which gives rise to all ignominious punishments, and to such executions of justice as are open and public: or lastly, by de-

priving the party injuring of the power to do future mischief; which is effected by either putting him to death, or condemning him to perpetual confinement, slavery, or exile. The same one end, of preventing future crimes, is endeavored to be answered by each of these three species of punishment. The public gains equal security, whether the offender himself be amended by wholesome correction, or whether he be disabled from doing any farther harm: and if the penalty fails of both these effects, as it may do, still the terror of his example remains as a warning to other citizens. The method however of inflicting punishment ought always to be proportioned to the particular purpose it is meant to serve, and by no means to exceed it: therefore the pains of death, and perpetual disability by exile, slavery, or imprisonment, ought never to be inflicted, but when the offender appears incorrigible: which may be collected either from a repetition of minuter offences; or from the perpetration of some one crime of deep malignity, which of itself demonstrates a disposition without hope or probability of amendment: and in such cases it would be cruelty to the public, to defer the punishment of such a criminal, till he had an opportunity of repeating perhaps the worst of villainies.

3. As to the measure of human punishments. From what has been observed in the former articles we may collect, that the quantity of punishment can never be absolutely determined by any standing invariable rule; but it must be left to the arbitration of the legislature to inflict such penalties as are warranted by the laws of nature and society, and such as appear to be the best calculated to answer the end of precaution against future offences.

Hence it will be evident, that what some have so highly extolled for its equity, the *lex talionis*, or law of retaliation, can never be in all cases an adequate or permanent rule of punishment. In some cases indeed it seems to be dictated by natural reason; as the case of conspiracies to do an injury, or false accusations of the innocent: to which we may add that law of the Jews and Egyptians, mentioned by Josephus and Diodorus Siculus, that whoever without sufficient cause was found with any mortal poison in his custody, should himself be obliged to take it. But, in general, the difference of persons, place, time, provocation, or other circumstances, may enhance or mitigate the offence; and in such cases retaliation can never be a proper measure of justice. If a nobleman strikes a peasant, all mankind will see, that if a court of justice awards a return of the blow, it is more than a just compensation. On the other hand, retaliation may, sometimes, be too easy a sentence; as, if a man maliciously should put out the remaining eye of him who had lost one before, it is too slight

a punishment for the maimer to lose only one of his: and therefore the law of the Locrians, which demanded an eye for an eye, was in this instance judiciously altered: by decreeing, in imitation of Solon's law, that he who struck out the eye of a one-eyed man, should lose both his own in return. Besides, there are very many crimes, that will in no shape admit of these penalties, without manifest absurdity and wickedness. Theft cannot be punished by theft, defamation by defamation, forgery by forgery, adultery by adultery, and the like. And we may add, that those instances, wherein retaliation appears to be used, even by the divine authority, do not really proceed upon the rule of exact retribution, by doing to the criminal the same hurt he has done to his neighbour and no more; but this correspondence between the crime and punishment is barely a consequence from some other principle. Death is ordered to be punished with death; not because one is equivalent to the other, for that would be expiation, and not punishment. Nor is death always an equivalent for death: the execution of a needy decrepid assassin is a poor satisfaction for the murder of a nobleman in the bloom of his youth, and full enjoyment of his friends, his honors, and his fortune. But the reason upon which this sentence is grounded seems to be, that this is the highest penalty that man can inflict, and tends most to the security of mankind; by removing one murderer from the earth, and setting a dreadful example to deter others: so that even this grand instance proceeds upon other principles than those of retaliation. And truly, if any measure of punishment is to be taken from the damage sustained by the sufferer, the punishment ought rather to exceed than equal the injury: since it seems contrary to reason and equity, that the guilty (if convicted) should suffer no more than the innocent has done before him; especially as the suffering of the innocent is past and irrevocable, that of the guilty is future, contingent, and liable to be escaped or evaded. With regard indeed to crimes that are incomplete, which consist merely in the intention, and are not yet carried into act, as conspiracies and the like; the innocent has a chance to frustrate or avoid the villainy, as the conspirator has also a chance to escape his punishment: and this may be one reason why the *lex talionis* is more proper to be inflicted, if at all, for crimes that consist in intention, than for such as are carried into act. . . . .

Thus also the statute 1 Mar. st. 1. c. 1. recites in its preamble, "that the state of every king consists more assuredly in the love of the subjects towards their prince, than in the dread of laws made with rigorous pains; and that laws made for the preservation of the commonwealth without great penalties are more often obeyed and kept, than laws made with

extreme punishments." Happy had it been for the nation, if the subsequent practice of that deluded princess in matters of religion, had been correspondent to these sentiments of herself and parliament, in matters of state and government! We may further observe that sanguinary laws are a bad symptom of the distemper of any state, or at least of its weak constitution. The laws of the Roman kings, and the twelve tables of the *decemviri*, were full of cruel punishments: the Porcian law, which exempted all citizens from sentence of death, silently abrogated them all. In this period the republic flourished: under the emperors severe punishments were revived; and then the empire fell.

It is moreover absurd and impolitic to apply the same punishment to crimes of different malignity. A multitude of sanguinary laws (besides the doubt that they may be entertained concerning the right of making them) do likewise prove a manifest defect either in the wisdom of the legislative, or the strength of the executive power. It is a kind of quackery in government, and argues a want of solid skill to apply the same universal remedy, the *ultimum supplicium* to every case of difficulty. It is, it must be owned, much easier to extirpate than to amend mankind: yet that magistrate must be esteemed both a weak and cruel surgeon, who cuts off every limb, which through ignorance or indolence he will not attempt to cure. It has been therefore ingeniously proposed,[1] that in every state a scale of crimes should be formed, with a corresponding scale of punishment, descending from the greatest to the least: but, if that be too romantic an idea, yet at least a wise legislator will mark the principal divisions, and not assign penalties of the first degree to offences of an inferior rank. Where men see no distinction made in the nature and gradations of punishment, the generality will be led to conclude there is no distinction in the guilt. . . . .

Yet, though in this instance we may glory in the wisdom of the English law, we shall find it more difficult to justify the frequency of capital punishment to be found therein; inflicted, perhaps inattentively, by a multitude of successive independent statutes, upon crimes very different in their natures. It is a melancholy truth, that among the variety of actions which men are daily liable to commit, no less than an hundred and sixty have been declared by act of parliament[2] to be felonies without benefit of clergy; or, in other words, to be worthy of instant death. So dreadful a list, instead of diminishing, increases the number of offenders.

[1] Beccaria, *On Crimes and Punishments*, c. 6.

[2] See Ruffhead's index to the statutes (title felony), and the acts which have since been made.

The injured, through compassion, will often forbear to prosecute; juries, through compassion, will sometimes forget their oaths, and either acquit the guilty or mitigate the nature of the offence: and judges, through compassion, will respite one half of the convicts, and recommend them to the royal mercy. Among so many chances of escaping, the needy and hardened offender overlooks the multitude that suffer: he boldly engages in some desperate attempt, to relieve his wants or supply his vices: and, if unexpectedly the hand of justice overtakes him, he deems himself peculiarly unfortunate, in falling at last a sacrifice to those laws, which long impunity has taught him to contemn. . . . .

And it was also enacted[1] that when any persons shall be convicted of any larceny, either grand or petit, or any felonious stealing or taking of money or goods and chattels, either from the person or the house of any other, or in any other manner, and who by the law shall be entitled to the benefit of clergy, and liable only to the penalties of burning in the hand or whipping, the court in their discretion, instead of such burning in the hand or whipping, may direct such offenders to be transported to America[2] for seven years; and, if they return or are seen at large in the kingdom within that time, it shall be felony without benefit of clergy. And by subsequent statutes[3] many wise provisions are made for the more speedy and effectual execution of the laws relating to transportation, and the conviction of such as transgress them. But now,[4] all offenders liable to transportation may in lieu therof, at the discretion of the judges, be employed, if males (except in the case of petty larceny) in hard labour for the benefit of some public navigation; or, whether males or females, may in all cases be confined to hard labour in certain penitentiary houses, to be erected by virtue of the said act, for the several terms therein specified, but in no case exceeding seven years; with a power of subsequent mitigation, and even of reward, in case of their good behaviour. But if they escape and are retaken, for the first time an addition of three years is made to the term of their confinement; and a second escape is felony without benefit of clergy.

In forming the plan of these penitentiary houses, the principal objects have been, by sobriety, cleanliness, and medical assistance, by a regular series of labour, by solitary confinement during the intervals of work,

[1] By the statutes 4 Geo. I, c. 11, and 6 Geo. I, c. 23.

[2] Or, by statute 19 Geo. III, c. 74, to any other parts beyond the seas.

[3] 16 Geo. II, c. 15, and 8 Geo. III, c. 15.

[4] By the statute 19 Geo. III, c. 74.

and by due religious instruction, to preserve and amend the health of the unhappy offenders, to inure them to habits of industry, to guard them from pernicious company, to accustom them to serious reflection, and to teach them both the principles and practice of every christian and moral duty. And if the whole of this plan be properly executed, and its defects be timely supplied, there is reason to hope that such a reformation may be effected in the lower classes of mankind, and such a gradual scale of punishment be affixed to all gradations of guilt, as may in time supersede the necessity of capital punishment, except for very atrocious crimes. . . . .

From the whole of this detail we may collect, that however in times of ignorance and superstition that monster in true policy may for a while subsist, of a body of men, residing in the bowels of a state, and yet independent of its laws; yet when learning and rational religion have a little enlightened men's minds, society can no longer endure an absurdity so gross, as must destroy its very fundamentals. For, by the original contract of government, the price of protection by the united force of individuals is that of obedience to the united will of the community. This united will is declared in the laws of the land; and that united force is exerted in their due, and universal, execution.

RECENT COURT DECISIONS RELATING TO SOCIAL WELFARE

Rights of Illegitimate Children—Compensation for Death of Stepfather: *Larsen v. Harris Structural Steel Co.*, 230 App. Div. 280: 243 New York Supplement 654 (June 27, 1930)

This was a proceeding under the Workmen's Compensation Law of New York.

The State Industrial Board awarded death benefits to a widow and her "minor child." The child had been born out of wedlock, and the deceased was not her father. The New York statute gives a stepchild the status of a child for purposes of compensation, but the employer contested the award on the ground that the word "stepchild" included only the legitimate children. The court turned first to the dictionary for assistance in interpreting the statute and demonstrated its inadequacy as a guide in the situation. It then analyzed the realities of the situation—the mother's obligation of care of her illegitimate child, the problem of the child's support if a poor person, the nature of the husband's relation to such a child living in his household—and sustained the award.

The case is an interesting example of the tendency of many courts to interpret in the spirit of modern illegitimacy statutes other statutes under which questions may arise as to the rights of illegitimate children.

Rights of Illegitimate Children—Compensation for Death of Father—Establishment of Paternity by Father's Recognition and Support of Child: *Lockhart's Guardian* v. *Bailey Pond Creek Coal Co.*, 30 South Western Reporter (2d) (Kentucky) 955 (June 20, 1930)

This was an action under the Kentucky Workmen's Compensation Law for compensation to an illegitimate child for the death of her father.

The facts were as follows: Octavia Bevins, the child's mother, when her husband was sentenced to the penitentiary in Missouri, came back to her parents' home in Kentucky. There, without first obtaining a divorce, she went through a marriage ceremony with James Lockhart and moved with him to West Virginia. When Bevins was released from the penitentiary, he sought out his wife; and, in fear of him, she left Lockhart, again went back to her parents, and started divorce proceedings so that she might legally marry Lockhart. Meanwhile the child was born. Lockhart did not dare visit Octavia and the child because of Bevins'

threats, but he sent a physician to care for her, sent some clothing for the child, and finally arranged to have it brought to his sister to be taken care of. Before this plan could be put into effect Lockhart was killed in the mines, but a little later Lockhart's sister did in fact take the child and Octavia returned to her husband.

At an early hearing the compensation board fixed the coal company's liability on the theory that Lockhart left no dependents. Six years later Lockhart's sister brought the action on behalf of the child.

The Kentucky statute provided that a recognized illegitimate child should have the right to compensation.

The court held that the father's recognition of the child was established by the facts, refused to accept a narrow definition of "dependency," and held that, in view of all the circumstances, the little that the father had done was sufficient to constitute "support." An award in favor of the child was therefore sustained.

Custody of Child—Maternal Right—Divorce: *In re Bourquin*, 290 Pacific Reporter (Montana) 250 (July 19, 1930)

This case is one of the many in which controversy over the custody of the child arises between a parent and the grandparents, who for a period of time have in fact taken care of the child. The situation here resulted from the arrangements made by the parents at the time of their divorce whereby the mother took one of two children and the father the other, each retaining the right of access to the child in the other's custody. The father brought the child with him to his mother's household; and when he died, she kept it with her at his request and refused to surrender it to the mother. The mother then brought a habeas corpus action, in which the court awarded the custody of the child to her, and the grandmother appealed.

In deciding the question the court felt it necessary to interpret the specific mandate of the Montana statute, that "in proceedings affecting the custody of an infant child . . . . the paramount and controlling question by which the court must be guided is the welfare of the child." The idea of "material welfare" as the dominant consideration was rejected. The right of the mother in the absence of evidence of her unfitness or of some very special circumstances was asserted. The value to the child of its mother's care and of a reunion with its brother were considered as more important factors in its welfare than the greater material comfort possible in the grandparents' home, and the award of the lower court was sustained.

Guardianship of Minors—Powers of Guardian—Rights of Parents: *Ricci* v. *Superior Court in and for Alameda County*, 290 Pacific Reporter (Calif.) 517 (July 26, 1930)

This case is a startling example of the lack of protection of the rights of parents and children which may result from a narrowly technical interpretation of statutes relative to their welfare.

In 1928 Mary E. Lackey obtained an order from the Superior Court of Alameda County, California, appointing her guardian of the person and property of George Ricci, a minor of about six years of age, and his brother about four years old. A year later she obtained from the same court permission to take the two children to New York. In 1930 the parents filed an application for a review of the original order, stating that they resided in San Mateo County, that they had received no notice of the guardianship proceedings and did not learn about it until February 6, 1930, when the time to appeal had expired. At the original proceeding, the guardian had filed a statement signed by the parents in which they relinquished all rights to the guardianship of person and property of the children, consented to the appointment of Mary E. Lackey as guardian, and waived notice of hearing of the petition for guardianship.

The parents, foreign-born Italians, contended that such a waiver of notice was invalid, since the statute relating to guardianship specifically required that notice be given and that the proceedings should have been brought in the county where they resided.

The court made no inquiry into the actual circumstances of the case in spite of the fact that the waiver of notice in question was obviously drawn up in lawyer-like language which might well have been unintelligible to parents of little education or of foreign birth but contented itself with the argument of dubious weight and relevance, namely, that a rule forbidding waiver of notice in cases like that before it might be applicable to divorce cases also.

Further, the court declared that the provision of the code that "the residence of an unmarried minor who has a parent living cannot be changed by either his own act or that of his guardian" had no application to the case, since the change of residence was by permission of the probate court. This reading into the statute of an exception not found in its express language appeared to be the court's attempt to cover up the unpleasant fact of its impotence in a situation where both guardian and wards were beyond its jurisdiction. Fully to realize the danger to the children in such an interpretation of the statute one must remember that the proceeding was not one of adoption so that none of the protections

of that status were conferred upon the children. Even if the original order could be declared invalid an intervening continent might well prove an insuperable barrier to the assertion of any rights of parents or children in their family relations.

Fortunately we learn from the newspapers that in this particular case someone was willing to furnish the parents with money to go to New York, where they were successful in their assertion of parental rights. One could not always hope for such an outcome.

Parents' Responsibility for Support of Child—"Necessaries": *Foster* v. *Adcock*, 30 South Western Reporter (2) (Tenn.) 239 (July 19, 1930)

This case dealt with the question of the use of a minor's property to pay for "necessaries" furnished him.

The "necessaries" in the case were emergency medical services rendered when the child had been hurt in an accident. Father and child each brought successful suits for damages, and the amount awarded the child, after deduction of attorney's fee, was paid into court. This sum the doctor sought to impound for the payment of the balance of his bill, nearly one-half of which had already been paid by the father. This the court refused to permit on the ground that the father was, at least in the first instance, liable for such necessaries furnished a minor child in his custody and control and that by his part payment the father in this case had clearly acknowledged his liability.

The protection afforded the child's property in such a case is in striking contrast to the situation where settlements are made out of court and demonstrates in part the wisdom of the recent recommendation of the New York courts that no settlement in case of injuries to minors should be valid until approved by the court. In connection with the denial of the physician's claim it might be noted that in spite of the antiquity of the practice and in spite of certain considerations of policy, there may well be a question as to the wisdom of permitting the attorney as a matter of course to subtract his fees from the child's property.

Child Labor—Responsibility of Employer for Injury: *Birdsong* v. *Jones*, 30 South Western Reporter (2d) (Missouri) 1094 (May 26, 1930)

This case serves as another example of the principle that an employer should be required to exercise a greater degree of care in furnishing safe working conditions for minors than may be necessary in the case of adult employees.

The plaintiff, a sixteen-year-old boy, was employed in a newspaper,

office between 10:00 P.M. and 4:00 A.M., and was injured in manipulating certain elevators used ordinarily for lifting the heavy rolls of paper but sometimes for going to and fro between one room and the room underneath. The elevator was unguarded; and while the defendants argued that to guard it would be impracticable, the court held that to be a question of fact and that if it were feasible to guard it, to allow a minor to use it unguarded constituted negligence.

Juvenile Court—Jurisdiction in Cases of Contributing to Delinquency of Child: *People* v. *Kelley*, 243 New York Supplement 613 (June 27, 1930)

This is an interesting example of the chaotic conditions which may result from loosely-drawn statutes granting to different courts concurrent jurisdiction over certain types of offenses.

Kelley, a bootlegger, was convicted in the city court of Norwich for contributing to the delinquency of a young girl, whom he took into his house when she escaped from jail. He appealed from the conviction on the ground that the city court had no jurisdiction over the offense, which by statute involved a rather serious penalty. Pending the appeal the zealous prosecutor obtained an indictment from the grand jury, which involved trial in the county court and also presented an information to the children's court. The judge of the latter dismissed the information.

On appeal from the children's court and from a demurrer to the indictment the upper court, while censuring the prosecutor, felt obliged to sustain both the children's court jurisdiction on the information and the indictment in the county court, leaving the defendant in the undesirable position of being prosecuted before two courts simultaneously for the same offense.

Dependent Children in Foster Homes—Liability for Their Tuition in School District Other than That of Their Parents' Residence: *Domes* v. *Board of Supervisors of Erie County*, 243 New York Supplement 640 (July 1, 1930)

In this case the trustees of a school district in Erie applied for a review of a decision of the Board of Supervisors of Erie disallowing a claim for tuition and medical care for twenty-six children boarded out in their district.

The court overruled the decision of the board, holding that under the Education Law such children were not residents of the school district unless they had lived there prior to the time that they were boarded out.

None of the children in question met this condition, and the court held that the municipality from which they had been taken was responsible for their care and must pay a reasonable sum to the school district for tuition and medical services.

The clarity of the court's decision is slightly obscured by the suggestion that a child boarded out might become so much a part of the foster home that in fact and in law it "would be a 'resident' when domiciled in the fullest sense."

Mentally Incompetent Persons—Degree of Special Protection Given by Courts: *Warker* v. *Warker,* 151 Atlantic Reporter (New Jersey) 274 (July 16, 1930)

An old woman of eighty years brought suit in a court of equity to compel a cousin to reconvey certain property to her. After the suit was commenced a reconciliation with the cousin took place and a settlement was made out of court. The old lady then asked to have the suit dismissed, but the court refused, justifying this departure from ordinary practice on the ground that it was under a special responsibility in a case where one litigant was "under a disability not amounting to insanity or infancy and yet sufficient to put him at such a disadvantage in dealing with his own affairs as to make him utterly incapable of protecting himself and his property against the inroads and the ravages of the others."

The court of appeals, however, found that as the petitioner, though without much business experience, had never been adjudged incompetent, seemed to have a reasonable grasp of the situation, and continued to insist vigorously that the bill be dismissed, the court had no power to refuse her petition. If special protection were thought necessary, the only proper action would be to bring proceedings for guardianship in which a formal judgment as to competency could be made.

Mentally Incompetent Persons—Responsibility of Guardians: *Mathieu* v. *U.S. Fidelity and Guaranty Company,* 290 Pacific Reporter (Washington) 1003 (September 5, 1930)

This case is an interesting example of the discrepancy in the standards of the different states in their supervision of a guardian's management of his ward's property.

In 1922 the father of Arthur H. Campbell, an incompetent person, was appointed guardian of the person and property of his son by the Superior Court of Kings County, Washington, and was required to give a bond for $2,500, which was furnished by the defendant in the case. The next

year the guardian moved with his son to California—the son's property consisted chiefly of money paid to him by the U.S. Veterans Bureau—and in 1926 at the instigation of that Bureau the father applied to the court in California for letters of guardianship.

In 1927 the father went back to Washington to make his final accounting and receive his discharge; but the Washington court disapproved the accounting, removed him as guardian, ordered him to pay more than $2,500 to his son's estate, and appointed a new guardian.

The father then returned to California. There he made a final accounting in 1928. The court accepted his account at its face value, no one was appointed to protect the interests of the ward, and the father was discharged from further liability as guardian.

The Washington guardian then brought suit against the father and the Surety Company for the amount adjudged due in that state. The father could not be reached, but the Washington court overruled all objections of the Surety Company, including the contention that the Washington court was bound by the California decision, and the Surety Company was required to pay the full amount of the bond.

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NOTES AND COMMENT

THE preliminary announcements of the National Conference of Social Work, which will be held in Minneapolis, June 14–20, have already been issued. The Division programs are still too incomplete to justify comment; but the committee chairmen are vigorously at work, and the usual interesting discussions seem to be assured. Speakers for the evening or so-called general sessions have been announced with one or two exceptions. These speakers and their subjects are as follows: Sunday evening, "The Needs for Tests for the Values of Social Treatment," by Dr. Richard Cabot, president of the Conference; Tuesday evening, "The Costs of Medical Care," by Michael M. Davis, Julius Rosenwald Fund of Chicago; Wednesday evening, "Racial Contributions to American Culture," by Hastings H. Hart, senior past president of the Conference; Friday evening, "The Resources of the Social Workers," by Mrs. John M. Glenn, New York, president of the Family Welfare Association of America; Saturday evening, "Public and Private Social Work," by Karl de Schweinitz, executive secretary, Community Council, Philadelphia.

THE Second International Conference of Social Work is announced for July, 1932, at Frankfurt-am-Main in Germany. This Conference will see a departure from the plan used in 1928 of a series of carefully prepared reports published and available in printed form before the meetings. Next year we are told that "discussion will be emphasized" so that a vigorous attack on German and French by American social workers would seem to be in order. There has been a "main theme" announced—"The Family and Social Work." The Conference of each country participating in the next International Conference will organize study committees around five topics of the main subject as follows:

1. Public health and the family
2. Economic insecurity and the family
3. Broken homes
4. Social insurance and social work in the home
5. Social work for alien families

These subcommittees will bring together the experience and opinion of their respective countries, particularly as to status, trends, and special development in these particular restricted fields.

THE National Social Science Research Council has issued its *Annual Report* for 1929–30. The seven research bodies which are the constituent organizations of the Council are the American Anthropological Association; American Economic Association; American Historical Association; American Political Science Association; American Psychological Association; American Sociological Society; and American Statistical Association.

However, the Social Science Research Council does not regard the seven research bodies comprising its constituency as bounding the entire area of the social sciences. Constant advantage is taken, accordingly, of opportunities for contact with new groups whose work is in or related to the social sciences. As an example of this policy, the experience of the Council has, during the year, been placed freely at the disposal of the new Committee on Problems and Plans for Research in Education, and this Committee was invited to hold a series of planning meetings in connection with the Hanover Conference. The fields of education, geography, law, psychiatry, and public health will be represented in 1931 on the Council through membership-at-large.

There is an interesting section on the subject of relations with constituent societies:

The Council has stressed from the outset its concern for the development of a type of research involving questions that cut across the lines of the single discipline. This has represented a desire to assist at a point in the research field where the difficulties confronting the individual investigator are obviously great. For the cross-discipline problem frequently calls for a liberality of financing and a degree of planning and patience in the gathering of data of unusual sorts beyond the reach of the lone investigator.

At the same time, the Council has never intended any such preoccupation as it may have shown with these cross-discipline problems to involve neglect for the concerns of the great body of individual investigators working within the range of their respective disciplines. Concern with "co-operative research" or "inter-discipline problems" should not be allowed to hamper the first-rate mind, alert to the possibilities inherent in whatever problem enlists its energies.

In line with this general point of view, the following action was adopted by the Council in the summer of 1930:

"The Social Science Research Council is concerned with the promotion of research over the entire field of the social sciences. The Council's thinking thus far has been largely in terms of social problems which cannot be adequately analyzed through the contributions of any single discipline. It is probable that the Council's interest will continue to run strongly in the direction of these inter-discipline inquiries. At the same time, the Council is quite aware of the fundamental place which the several recognized disciplines occupy in the upbuilding of more effective scientific research in the social field. The Council consequently

acknowledges its definite responsibility for the promotion of research in the several constituent disciplines. In giving continued consideration to the needs of research in the individual disciplines, the Council would welcome the assistance of the constituent societies."

Growing out of this action, plans are under way further to implement this plan of the Council's through specific co-operation with the several constituent societies.

ANNA GARLIN SPENCER, who died last month just a few weeks before her eightieth birthday, was a valiant supporter of many of the social reform movements that have been written on our statute books or are still in process of being written there. She was a very early member of the National Conference of Social Work and the conference group will long remember her vivid and vigorous contributions to their public discussions.

She belonged especially perhaps to the American Social Hygiene Association but she had also been a leader in many other fields. That she should work even to the last day of her life was in harmony with the full measure of service that she always gave.

An able and devoted public servant, she was also a cherished friend who will long be held in loving rememberance by men and women representing many different interests from coast to coast. Full of courage and enthusiasm she had a noble and generous spirit that will remain with us through the long future.

SOME IMPORTANT BERLIN CONFERENCES

SOME five hundred leaders in social work and public welfare in Germany gathered in Berlin for a series of significant conferences at the end of November. The central conference was that of the German Association for Public and Private Social Work (Deutscher Verein für öffentliche und private Fürsorge) on November 26 and 27, in celebration of its founding in Berlin on the 26th of November fifty years ago under the name "Deutscher Verein für Armenpflege und Wohltätigkeit," which name it bore until 1919. Germany has never had a national conference of social work in the manner of the American conferences. The annual discussions of social work and public welfare problems under the auspices of this Association have been the nearest approach to such a periodic general social work conference.

This year, two other organizations arranged conferences of national scope in Berlin during the same week. The result was a week of more ex-

tensive discussions than has been the rule in previous years. The National Association for Voluntary Child Welfare Work (Deutsche Zentrale für freie Jugendwohlfahrt) held a single session on November 25, devoted to the problem of the satisfactory co-operation of the private child welfare agencies with the bureaus for public child welfare (Jugendämter), under the provisions of the National Child Welfare Law. The discussion centered about the results of a questionnaire that had been returned by a considerable number of private agencies and public bureaus. Where co-operation between public bureaus and private agencies has not been satisfactorily worked out during the six years of operation of the national law, two factors are definitely in evidence. One is the unwillingness of the public bureaus to transfer cases, for which the law makes them finally responsible, to private agencies which carry on their work with untrained volunteer helpers. The other is the exceedingly troublesome factor of religious and political philosophy—which becomes immediately a philosophy of care and training in child welfare work. The hopeful revelation of the questionnaires was that in most of the places where co-operation is on a basis satisfactory to both private and public agencies, it has been accomplished through regular meeting and discussion rather than through delegation of duties by the public agency as provided in section 11 of the Child Welfare Law.

On November 28 and 29, the Deutsches Archiv für Jugendwohlfahrt conducted a day and a half of discussion concerning the possibilities of cutting down expense without too severely affecting the scope and quality of German child welfare work. Three possibilities were discussed, each in a half-day session. Reorganization of administration, personnel, and method occupied the first half-day. The general consensus of opinion was that under present circumstances in Germany such measures offer more difficulties than they do hope. Vigorous protest was made against the recent practice in some public bureaus in cutting down the number of social workers employed, increasing the number of cases per worker, almost inevitably increasing hours, and tremendously lowering the effectiveness of the whole work.

The other two possibilities discussed—greater emphasis on preventive work and greater development of voluntary activity through the private agencies—were generally agreed to offer means of protecting young persons against neglect, delinquency, and ill health. Specific methodological proposals for effecting the necessary organization of community resources for such activity were, unfortunately, somewhat limited.

Between the two child welfare conferences, the principal event of the

week found its place. The jubilee session in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Association for Public and Private Social Work was carried out in the best manner of German anniversary celebrations, beginning with a speech by the most prominent person present and carrying through two hours of congratulatory speech-making—earnest, festive, thoroughly German. The national government was represented by the minister of labor, Dr. Stegerwald, who paid particular tribute to the Association for its significant influence in bringing about the Unemployment Insurance Act, the National Child Welfare Law, and the progressive poor law regulation of 1924 (Fürsorgepflicht Verordnung). Following the minister of labor were Dr. Hirtsiefer, Prussian minister of public welfare; Dr. Mulert, president of the German Association of Cities; Bürgermeister Scholtz, of Berlin; and representatives of a number of other public and private bodies and organizations. Reichskanzler Dr. Brüning sent a telegram of congratulation and of good wishes for the "next half-century" in the life of the Association.

Professor Wilhelm Polligkeit, in his presidential address, traced briefly the principal events in the life of the Association. He emphasized particularly the nature and objectives of the organization, as an independent, non-political agency for study and research in social problems, with the purpose of using its findings as a basis for seeking to influence legislation and shape social policy.

The year 1924 marked the assumption of a very much greater public responsibility in Germany for both child care and family maintenance. The results of this increased public responsibility and public social service have not yet become completely evident. A few of them, however, have begun, in the course of six years, to make themselves definitely—in some places disturbingly—felt. The principal business of the conference was not, therefore, celebration, but the discussion of some of the problematic relationships that inhere in a policy of such widely developed public social work.

Four problems were presented. Dr. Luppe, mayor of the city of Nuremberg, dealt with "The Mutual Relationships between Business and Social Work." Stadtrat Dr. Hans Muthesius, director of one of the largest public welfare bureaus in Berlin, recognized throughout Germany both for outstanding administrative work and usually clear analysis of problems in his writings, discussed the matter of "Collective versus Individual Responsibility in Social Work." Professor Polligkeit presented an exceedingly able discussion of "The Meaning of Personality in Social Work." In the closing session Ministerialrat Dr. Gertrud Bäumer, former member of the Reichstag and an important figure in international activ-

ity both for child welfare and for the securing of an adequate political and social position for women, presented for further discussion some considerations concerning "The Social-Educational Duties of Child Welfare Work."

The lecture of Dr. Muthesius evoked a great deal of discussion and praise. It was, in fact, regarded by many persons as the high point in the week of conferences. His analysis of the relationships that are developing in connection with the taking-over of more and more duties by the public was clear-cut and convincing. The following statement summarizes Dr. Muthesius' conclusion in the matter. "The assumption of responsibility by the state for the care of so many persons has—I will not say *weakened*—but has at least resulted in an insufficient development and appreciation of an individual sense of social responsibility."

Dr. Bäumer dealt particularly with the problems of probation and correctional education. Her basic contention was that which a number of American students of the problem—notably Dr. Thomas D. Eliot—have repeatedly insisted upon, viz., that the special measures for character education which are applied through probation and correctional education can be really effective only when they are made a part of the educational system of the community.

The discussion which met Dr. Bäumer's proposal indicated clearly that the probability of abandoning the semi-"helpfulness," semi-punishment practice of the present in favor of a clear-cut educational treatment of delinquency is, in Germany as everywhere else, more or less remote.

E. D. M.

THE PRESIDENT'S RELIEF INVESTIGATORS

THE newspapers of the first week of February brought the strange announcement that the president of the United States had ordered a survey of Arkansas relief conditions to be made by his personal military aide and two other army officers! According to the *United States Daily* (February 5) these army officers were to prepare a "personal report" on the stricken area. The president had directed that "a detailed survey of the situation" in the state of Arkansas be made for him "with a view to ascertaining first-hand information regarding actual drought conditions in Arkansas." The *Daily* also reported that

> In announcing this orally at the White House on February 3 it was explained that the survey would be made to determine the actual extent of human suffering existing in Arkansas as a result of the drought, the number of unemployed and the possibility of any contributions being made by the Department of

War of army equipment either in the State or adjacent thereto for the relief of suffering. The results of the survey will be reported personally to President Hoover by the army officers, it is said.

The "experts" selected for this important social service included the military aide to President Hoover, who left for Arkansas from Bolling Field in an army transport plane, accompanied by a fellow-officer who was "a native of Arkansas now on duty in the Bureau of Militia of the Department of War." They were joined in Arkansas by a Division Army Engineer from New Orleans "who served as aide to Mr. Hoover when as Secretary of Commerce the latter made a survey of flood conditions in the Mississippi River Valley." It was also explained that the survey would "be made jointly for the President and the Department of War."

On February 7 the War Department made public "in full" the telegraphic report of the president's efficient military aide as follows:

> Survey has covered 16 counties, including hardest hit section of State. Red Cross and local agencies are now adequately meeting situation. Careful search fails to reveal any presence of suffering from hunger and cold. Hope complete job by eighth and return to Washington tenth [*United States Daily*, February 9].

The same methods were used for other areas of distress. On February 18 the *United States Daily* announced that the president's military aide had found that relief organizations, including the Red Cross, were

> functioning efficiently and that those in need are being given adequate relief, according to a statement made public February 17 by the Department of War. The statement follows in full text:
>
> "The Secretary of War has received the following telegraphic report from Lieut. Col. Campbell B. Hodges, aide to the President, who was sent to Arkansas, Oklahoma and Texas by the Secretary of War to investigate the conditions brought about by the drought in those states: 'Our party has completed survey in drought areas of Oklahoma and Texas and finds that local relief societies and Red Cross machinery are well organized and functioning efficiently. Those in want are being adequately relieved.'"

The selection of army officers for work that could only be competently performed by those experienced in relief work has been widely and vigorously censured. There are competent social agencies in the Middle West whose directors might easily have been called on for this service. More than that, there are at Washington in the service of the present administration two former presidents of the National Conference of Social Work —Grace Abbott, chief of the Children's Bureau, and Porter R. Lee, who has been in Washington all winter with the president's Unemployment

Commission—whose judgment on Arkansas conditions would have been accepted by the country as a serious attempt to determine the present needs of the stricken states. As it is, the aeroplane trip of the army officers over these areas of destitution that have been reported in a condition of tragic need and their incredible "reports" will be received with grave public concern and disapproval.

MATERNITY CARE LOST AGAIN

MORE in sorrow than in anger will the social workers pronounce their verdict on the ill-starred policy that is preventing the resumption of the work of the Maternity and Infancy Division of the United States Children's Bureau. The maternity and infancy work, which had had an enviable record of seven years of national service before the advent of the present administration, all came to an end, so far as federal aid was concerned, in July, 1929. At that time all the states in the Union except Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Illinois were co-operating with the federal government under the familiar Sheppard-Towner Act.

The seventy-first Congress has just come to an end, but neither in its special session nor in the regular sessions did its political leaders find time to save this fine and necessary public service. After the White House Conference, with the swift and valiant defense of the policy which had proved so successful under the preceding administration, it was hoped that the chief of the Children's Bureau might be allowed to re-establish this important division of her Bureau. The Senate immediately passed the Jones bill, which was virtually the Sheppard-Towner Act and would have restored the work. But the House thought otherwise. And the County Health Unit bill, which the United States Public Health Service was promoting, was hung around the necks of the mothers and children of this country. By this policy the Jones bill was so amended that, along with the million dollars that was finally to be restored to maternity and infancy work in the Children's Bureau, an additional three million was provided for the United States Public Health Service for an entirely new county-health subsidy. Every politically minded person saw the danger of this policy. The chief of the Children's Bureau said frankly that county-health units were a good thing, but was it politically wise to add this new work and the additional appropriation to the maternity bill, since it would jeopardize the passage of both?

The greatest humanitarian service that had been built up in the last decade has been destroyed by the hands of those who professed to be its

friends. The men who counseled the administration to hang their three million-dollar county-health albatross around the necks of the mothers and children of America have much to answer for. The maternity and infancy work was suspended in 1929. But the White House Conference gave the friends of this work a chance to speak out; and the social workers of the country, the American Federation of Labor, our most distinguished obstetricians and pediatricians, and the twelve national women's organizations spoke in no uncertain voice. What will they say now to the inept political maneuvering that has again killed the maternity and infancy service in spite of the public demand for its restoration!

RELIEF STATISTICS FOR 1930

SOME very significant monthly relief statistics for 1929 and 1930 have been made available which were collected by the United States Children's Bureau for the president's Emergency Committee for Employment. These data represent returns from the large relief agencies, both public and private, in 97 different cities that are geographically well distributed.

TABLE I

AMOUNT EXPENDED MONTHLY FOR FAMILY RELIEF DURING 1929 AND 1930 IN 97* CITIES OF 50,000 OR MORE POPULATION REPORTING MONTHLY FIGURES THROUGHOUT THE PERIOD

	RELIEF EXPENDITURES		PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE IN 1930
	1929	1930	
Total	$20,192,726	$38,567,203	91.0
January	$1,839,099	$2,844,925	54.7
February	1,843,099	2,926,339	58.8
March	1,834,820	3,225,456	75.8
April	1,638,242	3,080,841	88.1
May	1,534,501	2,585,638	68.5
June	1,411,919	2,378,600	68.5
July	1,480,676	2,485,144	67.8
August	1,391,578	2,473,035	77.7
September	1,370,144	2,779,867	102.9
October	1,544,142	3,357,285	117.4
November	1,803,981	3,947,643	118.8
December	2,500,525	6,482,430	159.2

* Includes 72 cities reporting to the Children's Bureau and 25 cities reporting to the Russell Sage Foundation.

These increasing relief percentages are, of course, the tale that is told numerically of the accumulating misery that social workers have been

trying to provide for during these tragic months. These are the normally hard-working, small-spending families who through no fault of their own slip farther and farther down until they become applicants for charity. This table tells the story of our American system of "doles."

Statistics are also available showing the distribution of relief between public and private funds. Even before June 1, a clearly marked tendency toward an increase in public relief was clearly seen. The figures for the years 1929 and 1930 are give given in Table II.

TABLE II

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EXPENDITURES FOR FAMILY RELIEF DURING 1929 AND 1930 IN 72 CITIES OF 50,000 OR MORE POPULATION REPORTING COMPARABLE MONTHLY FIGURES THROUGHOUT THE PERIOD AND SEGREGATING EXPENDITURES BY PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES
(Data from U.S. Children's Bureau)

	AMOUNTS EXPENDED FOR RELIEF	
	1930	1929
Total: Public and Private.	$23,302,506	$10,962,236
Public Relief:		
Amount.....	$16,756,328	$6,592,015
Percentage of total.....	71.9	60.1
Private Relief:*		
Amount.....	$6,546,178	$4,370,221
Percentage of total.....	28.1	39.9

* May include public funds expended by private agencies.

These figures, according to the Children's Bureau News Summary, indicate "that tax-supported agencies are bearing a larger proportion of the relief load in 1930 than in 1929." It is certainly important to know that public relief agencies in the 72 cities carried 60 per cent of the family relief in 1929 and 72 per cent in 1930. Private funds expended by public agencies are included with public funds, and vice versa.

A NOVELIST TURNS TO PRISON REFORM

ALL the world knows Margaret Wilson, whose *Able McLaughlins* was a prize novel of 1923; and the University of Chicago in particular has rejoiced over the success of one of her most distinguished daughters.

The *Social Service Review*, therefore, presents with great satisfaction an extract from her new book *The Crime of Punishment*. Margaret Wilson (now Mrs. Turner) has lived in England for some years past, and many

of the delegates to the International Penitentiary Congress which met in London in 1925 had the pleasure there of meeting her husband, Colonel G. D. Turner, one of the English Prison Commissioners and, later, a prison governor. Having known the English prison system almost at first hand, Margaret Wilson has now become a reasoned, almost a devout, believer in the reform of prisons by their abolition.

Nearly fifty years have passed since Prince Peter Kropotkin wrote the articles that were printed together in that very wonderful book which he called *In Russian and French Prisons*. The last chapter "Are Prisons Necessary?" has remained for nearly half a century the classic statement of the case against all prison systems. In his concluding chapter Kropotkin summed up the lessons of his own earlier experiences, pointing out that prison life was bound to render

> men who have been detained for several years in prisons less and less adapted for life in society; and that none of them, not a single one, acts in the direction of raising the intellectual and moral faculties, of lifting man to a higher conception of life and its duties, of rendering him a better, a more human, creature than he was.

He was quite clear that "prisons do *not* moralize their inmates; they do *not* deter them from crime." And then he raised this question: "What shall we do with those who break, not only the written law—that sad growth of a sad past—but also those very principles of morality which every man feels in his own heart?"

What is now called "crime," Prince Kropotkin knew would some time be called "social disease." But he was too sanguine when he said that his children would see a new theory put in practice regarding "those unhappy people whom we have hanged or decapitated or sent to jails until now." He realized the dead weight of the selfishness and prejudices of men.

> From time to time, somebody acquainted with prisons starts an agitation against the bad state of our jails and lock-ups. Society recognizes that something ought to be done to remedy the evil. But the efforts of the reformers are broken by the inertia of the organized system; they have to fight against the widely spread prejudices against all those who have fallen under the ban of the law; and soon they are left to themselves in their struggle against an immense evil. Such was the fate of John Howard, and of how many others?

Margaret Wilson now has enlisted as one of "the others" in this still living cause. They—those others—have been a goodly company of great men and noble women. We take pleasure therefore in presenting also in this number of the *Review*, with an extract from Margaret Wilson's book, not only these brief quotations from Kropotkin's classic analysis of the

evils of prison life, but also in the "Source Materials" (pp. 85–93) a statement by the founder of English law, Sir William Blackstone, in which he sets forth the case for criminal law reform and for prison reform, with measured and persuasive eloquence. Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb give to Blackstone the intellectual leadership of the prison reform movement of the eighteenth century. It is refreshing now in the twentieth century to have an American woman following in the footsteps of this great legal pioneer and presenting with literary skill a new statement of the case against society for the methods that have been adopted for punishing its weaker members.

PUBLIC RELIEF AND THE AMERICAN SPIRIT

THERE has been much futile talk in these last weeks about the "voluntary spirit" and the superior virtues of private as against public charity. But this faith in private almsgiving is not "rugged individualism" but eighteenth-century Malthusianism that was nourished by the poorly administered poor law of that day and the mind of the English squirearchy. It has no place in twentieth-century America and certainly deserves no consideration by the professional social workers of the modern world.

Malthus never succeeded in persuading pre-Victorian England to abolish public relief, and social workers certainly are too clear-visioned today to see any hope in Malthusianism as a relief from the misery of the year 1931. For the arguments against public relief are Malthusian sophistry and belong to the discredited social theory that destitution is the "fault" of the man in need. To Malthus the men who were out of work and destitute were "paupers"; today they are "the unemployed." Malthus was satisfied that he had found a method of abolishing paupers. He would leave the destitute man and his wife and children to "the punishment of want . . . . to the punishment of nature." The destitute man, according to Malthus, had

> erred in the face of a most clear and precise warning, and can have no just reason to complain of any person but himself when he feels the consequences of his error. All [public relief] should be denied him; and he should be left to the uncertain support of private charity. He should be taught to know that the laws of nature, which are the laws of God, had doomed him and his family to suffer . . . . that he had no claim of *right* on society for the smallest portion of food, beyond that which his labour would fairly purchase; and that if he and his family were saved from feeling the natural consequences of his imprudence he would owe it to the pity of some kind benefactor, to whom, therefore, he ought to be bound by the strongest ties of gratitude.

If this were done and if the well-to-do would sufficiently harden their hearts, all would be well, for "the principal difficulty would be to restrain the hand of benevolence from assisting those in distress in so indiscriminate a manner as to encourage indolence and want of foresight in others." Malthusian teaching had great influence on social plans and policies of the early nineteenth century, but it has no more place in modern social organization than a hand-loom system in a modern cotton mill.

The drought and unemployment together have created the need for relief funds such as America has certainly not known before within the generation of those now living. The real question, of course, is how the necessary relief funds can be most promptly secured and best distributed according to the methods of modern social work.

Public relief is our oldest American tradition—let us make no mistake about that. Our Puritan and Virginian ancestors alike brought with them the principle of the compulsory collection of poor relief funds when they came to found the Atlantic Coast settlement in the early seventeenth century. This has been regarded as an American principle and has continued down to the present day. In the generation following the Civil War a few of the large cities, notably New York, found the corruption associated with such public charity so demoralizing that public outdoor relief was abolished in a few centers. But the twentieth-century tendency to public assistance from tax-supported funds is clearly defined; and recent statistics compiled for the president's Unemployment Commission (see Table II, p. 110) show that even in the cities public relief is coming back. The new tendency has been to distribute these tax-gathered funds through a staff of trained workers without degrading and humiliating those who are in need—and without the old waste and graft.

Adequate relief can only be secured through a public relief system. The mothers' pension funds of the last twenty years have clearly proved the importance of public funds in relief work.

Strange indeed that the *New York Times* announced in an editorial of January 24 on "The Voluntary Spirit" that it was "an established tradition, not only that national relief should be administered by the Red Cross, but also that the people should themselves supply the means for its work through voluntary subscription." The *Times* added, editorially, that to seek to meet the need in the drought-stricken states "by appropriating $25,000,000 from the United States Treasury for the entire United States would be a confession of the loss of that spirit which has given America her leadership in philanthropy."

This is indeed for the *Times* a strange statement not of fact but of fallacy. But, after all, "New York is not America," and much water—

and much misery—has flowed under the bridges in the few weeks since that editorial was written. Even in New York, the Welfare Council is now asking for public relief to the extent of $10,000,000 for agencies dealing with the unemployed. Chicago through the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare and with the authorization and support of her Council of Social Agencies has asked the legislature for permission to issue bonds for $2,000,000 since the entire annual outdoor relief fund of three-quarters of a million has been spent in two months.

Social workers who know at first hand the staggering extent of the disaster are concerned to secure relief that shall be prompt and adequate. New York may secure ten million and Chicago two million from their taxpayers, but the rural counties of the stricken areas cannot do this. Even the *Times* has reported that a state like Kentucky has been

> prostrate under the effects of the worst drought since 1838, which is producing crop failures, unemployment, delinquent taxes and bank collapses. Cattle are starving. Drinking water has given out in many places and the typhoid rate is increasing. How many thousands are cold and hungry, with no food in sight, can only be guessed, for the hill people are unable or unwilling to make their wants known.
>
> Within the last two weeks applications for help have increased 50 per cent. . . . . Local resources, with the exception of those of a few counties, are exhausted. Millions of dollars must be sent in here from some source to keep many alive during the rest of the winter and start to rehabilitate them. Last July Dr. A. T. McCormack, State Health Officer, made a survey of sixty-four counties. He found health conditions so deplorable that he estimated that one-fifth of the population, or 500,000 persons, would need help during the winter. Nobody would believe him. The State Drought Board made another survey in September and found the Board of Health estimate being borne out. Now even the Red Cross workers admit that it may be correct. One of these, in a visit up one creek in the hills, found thirty cabins with no fires going because there was nothing to cook. There has been little in the newspapers about Kentucky people's misery. It is only recently that the full extent of the disaster has begun to be realized [*New York Times*, January 19].

The Secretary of the Kentucky State Drought Board said:

> It will require $10,000,000 on liberal-credit terms for 50,000 farmers to put in their crops this year. I am afraid the ones who need it will not get it. The crop damage since July is $100,000,000. We estimate that 20 per cent of the dairy cattle, 32 per cent beef, 33 per cent hogs, and 19 per cent sheep will be lost.

A week later, the *Times* correspondent reported (January 26) from Tennessee that children were "going to school hungry every day," that

"the local Red Cross organizations are getting along without outside help on a basis of 55 cents a head per week for food for those who are destitute. They are keeping them just above the starvation line and that is all"; that in a shack near Covington "a white woman had borne a child without medical attendance. Snow had drifted through the cracks of the shack upon the bed, but she said she was 'doing fine.'" "A family of thirteen had only a few quarters of meal and a little sugar in the house." And it was reported in this dispatch that a Tennessee farmer had said, "and those law makers will spend $30,000,000 for a new street in Washington!"

The social workers of America ask that those suffering from the present calamity that has been inflicted on them through no fault of their own should be cared for not only promptly but adequately enough to prevent our reaping a harvest of undernourished children when normal living is restored. This calls for adequate federal grants for distribution in the stricken areas.

This is no criticism of the Red Cross. They have their own philosophy and, whatever that may be, their work is excellent. No one thinks the Red Cross or any other private agency should be "forced" to accept public funds for its work. The mistake was the mistake of Congress in asking the Red Cross to take public money and the mistake of the president in thinking that the public aid if given must be given through the Red Cross. Our American millions should be poured into these stricken areas but they should go through the hands of the state public welfare agencies or authorities in those sections. The plan of the United States Children's Bureau which was discussed in our last issue, of having the public mothers' pension funds brought into service at this time, might also have been followed, and federal help given to these public welfare funds for mothers and children who are in need.

Emergency health relief was extended through the Public Health Service and state departments of health. In the same way, the social needs of the people in distress should have been met by the public social service authorities. The social workers of the country know that expert service is available or can be promptly secured by the public welfare agencies and the public welfare officials in these states and that the federal Children's Bureau could assist the local mothers' pension administration if national help is needed. The need is still there. Public funds are still needed.

BOOK REVIEWS

Prisons

The Crime of Punishment. By MARGARET WILSON. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1931. Pp. 334. $3.00.

This remarkable book represents what might almost be called the common-sense view of prison reform. An American woman who knew nothing about prisons married an English army officer and went to live in a house on an English prison wall. But Margaret Wilson had a mind, an imagination, and quick sympathies. More than that, as an American she felt that she had a right to question anything—even the laws of parliament when they seemed to work an injustice to a human being. After she had lived for a comparatively short time in the governor's house on that English prison wall, she came to understand that most of the wretched men sent to His Majesty's prisons should never have been sent there at all. Listen to her account of what we may call her conversion:

> A little knowledge may be a dangerous thing. It can scarcely be as dangerous as a great deal more ignorance. I kept on inquiring diligently, without ceasing, into the real reasons for shutting men inside prisons. And the shattering discovery was that there is no acceptable reason for shutting four-fifths of the present prisoners in prisons—and none for letting the other fifth out. Not only is there no reason for doing it, but there is no excuse for doing it. I had supposed in my thoughtlessness that prisons exist because there are criminals. I began to see that there are criminals largely because there are prisons. I discovered, with acute pain, that I had discovered none of these facts. For a hundred years, in many unread volumes, men who knew what they were talking about have been trying to say to the world what I began to realize—that crime is largely the result of the presence of bad laws and the lack of good ones [p. 15].

Watching the broken men who were sent to be put in steel cages, watching their wives bringing their children to see them, she suddenly understood that being a prisoner was not being a criminal. She redefined the criminal class. It does not, she thinks, in any civilized state today consist of the people who commit crimes. "It consists of the people who are convicted of having committed crimes and sentenced to prison. Even the woman who kills some one with her careless driving and is fined ten pounds is not ordinarily included in the criminal classes. A criminal is one who has broken the law in the presence of witnesses in such a way that the jury finds him guilty and the judge sentences him—one, usually, who is not able to afford skilful defense." Criminals are, therefore, she thinks, "a matter of luck. They constitute a class in the same way that people born on the twenty-ninth of February constitute a class, or people with red hair. They are the wrongdoers who because of certain circumstances could be convicted."

She tried to find the reason for sending men to prison. Does the man who has

stolen something make restitution? He pays but he does not pay his creditors. He goes to prison where the taxpayers support him "in idleness, masquerading under the name of hard labour" (p.24). "He has," Margaret Wilson thinks, "paid the public in the satisfaction his suffering gave them. The idea of his being shut up there in prison was worth to the public what it cost."

"What has the prisoner paid? Of course, he has paid nothing. He only gets the idea that he is paying from the absurd conception that suffering 'atones' for sin, that punishment can be made to fit the crime, that the suffering can be adjusted to the sin" (p.24). Here she quotes Sir Edward Fry: "The object of punishment is to adjust the suffering to the sin"; and she also quotes the Mikado:

> My object all sublime
> I shall achieve in time
> To make the punishment fit the crime,
> The punishment fit the crime.

She is, as a matter of fact, more likely to quote from literary sources like Samuel Butler's *Erewhon*, Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*, Daniel De Foe's *Hymn to the Pillory*, Dostoievsky's *House of the Dead* than from the vast array of "authorities" that grace the footnotes of the Webb's *English Prisons under Local Government*. But her pages also show that she is not unfamiliar with parliamentary command papers and learned debates. Those of us who remember Orlando Lewis are glad to find that she frequently quotes from his fragmentary history of American prisons, which the New York Prison Association published after his death. And she challenges her American forbears to answer for their lack of foresight when our own penitentiaries were created. Social workers unfortunately get so used to prisons they come to accept them as inevitable. This book should give us courage to go on with a determined effort to have no more of them.

EDITH ABBOTT

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The Long View. Papers and Addresses. By MARY E. RICHMOND. Selected and edited with biographical notes by JOANNA C. COLCORD and RUTH Z. S. MANN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930. Pp. 648. $3.00.

In these days of book clubs that ration us a book a month, it is hard to remember that there still are books that find their own audiences. Such a book is *The Long View*.

To those social workers, volunteers, and board members of social agencies who found their leadership in Miss Richmond for more than a quarter of a century, *The Long View* brings the pleasure of experiencing again the stimulation she gave to thinking, the stirring of ideas that were kindled by hers, and the balanced judgment that saw things whole.

In some of the papers and addresses that comprise this volume the members of her audience will find old friends—an address they heard her give or a paper they have read in *The Family*, perchance. Like old friends these papers bring new pleasures and qualities not revealed before. But not many will be familiar with even a small portion of her published addresses, and in some of the hitherto unpublished papers and excerpts from letters to friends and colleagues are her finest writing and thought.

If this volume had brought to her audience nothing that was new except the paper "Books and Reading," which she read in her preprofessional days before the DeValin Literature Club in Baltimore, it would have been richly justified. For in this paper of the twenty-one-year-old girl is the promise of all her fulfilment—the caliber of her mind, the scientific spirit, her passion for knowing and understanding people, and the breadth of her culture. One would wish to quote all of it. A brief and exciting paragraph on the development of human life ends with these sentences: "So it is that history finds him, but *one* man no longer, for it is the written record that brings us face to face with humanity, that transforms the one typical man into many throbbing human hearts. . . . . It is the human element that attracts us, the life troubles, the victories, the vanquishments, the labors, aspirations, accomplishments of our fellow men." In the professional years that followed, Miss Richmond never failed to see the individual as unique. More than anyone else she has hewn out the path of case work and kept it clear, when others would have let it be overgrown by plants of a different species. Toward the end of the same paper she modestly discusses her contribution, claiming only the merit, "That my heart is with my subject, that I am thoroughly in earnest." How great a benefactor to social work was her singleness of purpose!

It would be unfortunate to give the impression that social workers are the only members of the audience of *The Long View*, for surely members of allied professions and future students of sociology and social work are to be counted in it. No field of science or art escaped Miss Richmond's interest, and every exploration was made with thoroughness. All that was relevant to social work she wove into its fabric. Because the development of her thinking was the development of social work for more than thirty years, these papers and addresses are the source material of the history of social case work in that period. Their value for the student cannot be overestimated.

To all of her audience, be they social workers, members of allied professions, or students in the years to come, *The Long View* offers the satisfactions and pleasures of good writing, maturity and beauty of style, as well as delightful excursions into literature, art, music, and science that only a broad culture such as hers could afford.

The papers in this volume are assembled in five sections, arranged chronologically, and around the three cities where she made her major contributions. One selection only is included in Part I, the preprofessional years, 1861–89, and that, the touchstone of the volume, the paper referred to above, and entitled

"Books and Reading." Part II covers the years from 1889 to 1900 in Baltimore; Part III, the Philadelphia years, 1900–1909; and Parts IV and V, the years in New York, 1909–17 and 1917–28. Each section is preceded by a biographical sketch of the period, written by the editors of the volume, Miss Joanna C. Colcord and Miss Ruth Z. S. Mann. One could wish no happier fate for a leader and friend than that her life should be set forth with such rare sympathy, understanding, and objectivity as the editors have presented Miss Richmond's in these biographical notes. The arrangement is excellent. The notes can be read as a whole or in part in connection with the papers of each period.

A sound theory and practice of social work must always be rooted in the social concepts and social institutions of each generation. If the theory and practice discussed in these papers differ somewhat from the current concepts and procedures of case workers, it in no way affects their value and significance. Also it is of small importance whether Miss Richmond was right or wrong in her attitude toward every controversial issue of her time. Her greatness cannot be estimated by such transitory concerns of a profession, but by the soundness of her underlying philosophy and the universality of its application to the major problems of social work. This volume, as all her other writings, abounds in truths that will be the guiding principles of social work through the years.

The last paper in *The Long View* is the address she delivered at Buffalo before the Conference on Family Life in America Today, her last public utterance. In the closing sentence she bids social workers "Prepare yourselves to contribute your characteristic difference to that common stock of insights." To the present-day case worker the concept of the "acceptance of difference" seems the peculiar contribution of this generation of social workers, but no one has ever valued the individual for his uniqueness more than Mary Richmond.

BETSEY LIBBEY

FAMILY SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA

Public Welfare Administration in Louisiana ("Social Service Monographs," No. 11, edited by the Faculty of the Graduate School of Social Service Administration). By ELIZABETH WISNER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. Pp. 239. $3.00.

Dr. Wisner gives a readable and instructive account of the system of charities and corrections in a leading southern state. We get in considerable fulness the history and present status of the state institutions for the sick and the insane (both classes designated as hospitals), and of the penitentiary and convict-lease system. There are briefer accounts of the social aspects of family law, of public health measures and of poor relief. A concluding chapter comments on administrative aspects of central control and present-day problems.

Any book dealing with Louisiana raises an expectation of an introduction

into a somewhat foreign atmosphere. In this we are not altogether disappointed. There are notable differences between the code provisions of Louisiana concerning the law of husband and wife, parent and child, and guardian and ward, and the common law on those subjects. Miss Wisner reprints in full the provisions of the Spanish Code of the *Siete Partidas* on the subject of adoption, but we learn with some surprise that the state was without an adoption law from 1808 to 1864, and that the present system of adoption is private, instead of operating, as in most other states, through a judicial proceeding. In most respects, it does not appear that the distinctive features of the Louisiana family law are of any marked significance with regard to modern social problems.

The difference of historical tradition manifests itself most clearly in the attitude toward poor relief: owing, perhaps, to French influence, the political community during the greater part of the nineteenth century stood aloof, and it was only the Constitution of 1879 that recognized a public obligation, and imposed the duty of supporting paupers upon parishes and municipalities.

As in early New York, sanitary legislation was for a long time spasmodic and the result of visitations of epidemics; local boards of health were not created until 1882—a generation later than in New York.

Has Louisiana in its public welfare administration been a typical southern state? It shared with other southern states the effects of slavery, which relieved the community from responsibility for a large portion of its population, and the impoverishment due to civil war and reconstruction. It was distinguished from them by the possession of a commercial metropolis and the cosmopolitan composition of its people. For all that appears, the similarity counted for more than the difference. The penal system started out with the proposals of Livingston, and eventually put up with the leasing of convicts. But toward the end of the century a Prison Reform Association became active, and the convict lease system fell with the beginning of the new century.

To the general student or reader, what happened in Louisiana is of interest in the main only so far as it illustrates more than local tendencies either by way of confirmation or variance. We may suspect that a good deal of what we are told must be or have been true of other states; the majority reports of legislative committees on institutional conditions should make good material in a study of official reporting.

A perusal of the book cannot fail to leave the reader with a sense of encouragement; archaic methods and practices appear as in course of being discarded, and are giving way, surely if slowly, to newer and scientific standards. This, it may be assumed, is typical of country-wide development.

A history of American public welfare administration must be built up on many local studies such as this; and all we can ask is that the model of intelligent scholarship and good writing set by this study will be followed by others.

ERNST FREUND

LAW SCHOOL
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

County Government and Administration in North Carolina. By PAUL WOODFORD WAGER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1928. Pp. xii+447. $5.00.

Someone has called the county "the Dark Continent" in American government. Thanks to Dr. Wager it is not quite so dark as it used to be. This book is a critical description of county practices in North Carolina, but it is for the most part applicable to county government in all our states outside of New England.

After describing the county in its historical, geographical, and political aspects, Dr. Wager proceeds to an analytical description of the major functions of the county unit such as: assessment and collection of taxes, expenditure and accounting of money, construction and maintenance of highways, and administration of justice, public education, public welfare, and public health.

The county is a very ancient thing and it still operates with an administrative organization that was set up to take care of ancient and comparatively simple tasks. It has begun slowly to undergo metamorphosis in order to adapt itself to modern needs. No one thought a century ago that public education, public welfare, and public health were destined to develop vast programs, depending largely upon the county unit for administration. Nor did anyone foresee the advent of the automobile and the consequent demand upon the county for a prominent part in building and financing hard-surfaced roads. Also, most of the ancient functions of the county have increased in volume: evaluation of taxables; collection of taxes; registration of deeds, mortgages, and other contracts; issuance of licenses; police duties; court litigations—all these increase with the growth of population and the industrialization of society.

Time was when all county offices could be administered in the leisure time of persons otherwise occupied. Now the services that these offices must perform are not only voluminous but also, in most cases, increasingly technical. Nevertheless, it is still possible in most places for the county judge not be a lawyer, for the county treasurer to know nothing about accounting, and for the administrators of welfare functions to have no notion of intelligent philanthropy.

So the counties need not only reorganization of their machinery but also a new type of official personnel. Under the stress of need the metamorphosis has begun. North Carolina furnishes some examples: the Fiscal Control Act of 1927 providing for a qualified county accountant, a businesslike budget system, and regular auditing and reporting; the Act of 1917 (amended 1919 and 1921) providing for county boards of public welfare and qualified county superintendents of public welfare; the Act of 1927 enabling counties to adopt the county-manager system of government.

Perhaps the most important task of the county lies in the awakening of the public spirit and interest of the citizens. Unless the local communities can accomplish this, there is a dark future for our democratic government.

The University of North Carolina has rendered a valuable service in fostering and publishing this study of the county.

FRANK Z. GLICK

ILLINOIS BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE COMMISSIONERS
CHICAGO

Measurement in Social Work (Social Service Monographs, No. 12). By A. W. McMILLEN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. Pp. xv+154. $3.00.

The very title of this volume will be regarded with misgiving in some quarters. For there are still minds to which social work is, after all, on too high and spiritual a plane to be amenable to such mundane treatment as is implied in the term "measurement," especially if statistical measurement is intended. It is exactly this which the volume under review contemplates.

The evolution of records and statistics of social work furnishes an excellent example of the culture lag. Social work has so recently emerged from its individualistic, primary-group stage that its transition to organized and impersonal forms is still fresh in memory. In the former stage written records, reports, and statistics were largely unnecessary. Each social worker knew her case records and statistics by heart. The social workers of that period are still with us in large numbers and frequently are in positions of administrative responsibility. They are the devout group who call our attention to how much good might be done in the time it takes to make out a statistical blank. As large-scale social work developed, organization and specialization made necessary written records. Up to recent years, however, each organization has kept its own type of records, and little attempt has been made to provide for that comparability without which statistical data are largely devoid of significance.

The problems of social work in modern urban communities have increasingly forced upon executives the need of standardized records of the amount and cost of different types of service rendered. Sporadic attempts to accomplish this for individual cities have frequently occurred. The history of these movements is within the memory of everyone. They culminated in the recent adoption by the U.S. Children's Bureau of the system of registration worked out by the Joint Committee of the Association of Community Chests and Councils and the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago.

The present volume deals with the problems encountered and the solutions worked out by the Joint Committee in the formulation of a set of registration forms for monthly reporting of social statistics in eighteen different fields of social work. This system of registration has now been adopted by some forty cities and constitutes in the reviewer's opinion the most significant single development in the history of social work. It is as a description of the work of McMillen and his committee in this connection that this volume will stand as a

landmark of the first comprehensive attempt of social workers to envisage some of their problems from the standpoint of the whole community and to state at least the quantitative aspects of these problems in tangible terms. While a good deal of the space is devoted to presentation of the data secured from a group of cities, the principal permanent value of the book lies in its lucid description of the problems of terminology and classification encountered and, at least tentatively, worked out. These are matters that lie at the very root of intelligent social work, and this bold attempt to arrive at a working solution should be the beginning for more intensive work in this field.

Being the result of considerable study and research on some of the specific problems of social work, this book is a pleasant contrast to much of the material currently published on this subject. As literature of the type of this book begins to appear, courses in social work and administration will begin to have more tangible content. The work here described does not by any means constitute a final solution of the problems involved in standardized social statistics. But it is the most important step in that direction which has yet been taken in this country.

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

BUREAU OF SOCIAL RESEARCH
PITTSBURGH FEDERATION OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

Adventures in Money Raising. By CORNELIUS M. STEFFENS and PAUL P. FARIS. New York: Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. xiii+278. $2.50.

This book is the personal narrative of an energetic young man of foreign birth who, after having filled an American pulpit for several years without marked success, turned his hand to the task of resuscitating an expiring college in Dubuque, Iowa. The job was a discouraging one. Unlike contemporary college presidents who can draw upon the experiences of their predecessors, young Steffens was obliged to carve out for himself such high-pressure methods as he could turn his hand to. But nothing succeeds like success. No sooner had a few thousands been assured for current coal bills than the young man was seized with the inevitable ambition to see new walls of brick and mortar arise. Through techniques then less familiar than now, such as traveling far and wide to ring the doorbells of the rich and agreeing to carve their names over the portals of the proposed edifices, this objective was likewise attained.

President Steffens is now president-emeritus and is enjoying, it is to be hoped, a well-earned rest. He has utilized this leisure to set forth the experiences of his very active life in the hope that his techniques will be useful to other rising young men faced with like problems. This generous impulse seems doomed to failure. Mr. Steffens has no techniques to reveal that are not already thoroughly familiar to his successors. Indeed, to college presidents of this generation, his methods will seem primitive and his goals modest.

But if the book has little to interest the professional money getter, it cannot fail to beguile the historian of the frontier. Here is the singularly frank and straightforward statement of a pioneer. The record reveals not only a vigorous and colorful personality, but also a condition of social consciousness that probably was peculiar to an epoch in American life that is now gone forever.

A. WAYNE MCMILLEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Country Church and Public Affairs: A Collection of Addresses Given at the University of Virginia in August, 1929, To Consider the Plight of the Rural (Protestant) Churches. Edited, with Introduction, by HENRY W. MCLAUGHLIN, Director of Country Church Work, Presbyterian Church. New York: Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. 253. $2.50.

The editor's own address at the round table (chapter ii) gives his reasons for considering "the maintenance of the country church not only as an ecclesiastical problem but as a matter of vital national concern" since "most of our men of wealth who have become our nation's benefactors, our statesmen who have been the pathfinders of progress, our educators . . . . our editors who have presented lofty national ideals were born and reared in country communities. . . . . The national safety will depend, therefore, upon having a sufficient number of such communities from which we may draw our leadership." (See p. 29 and p. 32 for striking evidence to support the historical parts of this statement.)

Although exact statistics to this effect are wanting in the book, it is a general assumption that the rural Protestant churches are in a bad way. H. N. Morse summarizes their deficiencies under three general categories: Lack of parish organization, thinking in terms of constituency rather than community, meagerness of program (p. 39). Also by C. H. Hamilton: Financial support inadequate, congregations too small for efficient organization and support of ministers, failure to appeal to and serve all social classes, religious education inadequate (p. 54). The analysis of the situation given by W. H. Wilson (p. 68) is the best thing in the book from the viewpoint of the sociologist, and his statement both of the needs of the rural community and of the possible contributions of a wide-awake church is very stimulating (p. 72). Another excellent program for improvement of conditions which, at least in Virginia, he does not regard as seriously decadent, is offered by Dr. Hamilton (p. 57) and may be indicated by the following headings: Leadership training courses in seminary and summer institutes; improved methods of church organization and religious education; county and community surveys; increased financial support; re-location and consolidation of churches; interdenomination adjustments; rural church conference; the larger parish plan.

Valuable recommendations respecting the relation of the rural church to the community newspaper, to the improvement of medical and hospital resources,

to recreational programs (4-H clubs, etc.) are to be found in chapters x, xiii, xv, and xvi. They are full of sound sociology. Strangely enough, the treatment of the religious functions of the rural church is not so happy. In spite of a stirring appeal for a modern, spiritual, social interpretation of Christianity by Dr. W. R. Bowie, there is a tendency on the part of some contributors to regard the decay as due, to a large extent, to apostasy from the dogmatism of old-time religion, with its emphasis on mystic-emotional matters. There is no agreement on the advisability of uniting or federating churches (p. 67, and chapters viii and ix). Concern is expressed over the invasions of extra-church and extra-denominational revivalistic movements such as the Church of God, the Holiness Movement, and the like. It is tacitly admitted that the rural church is emotionally, mystically, and aesthetically impoverished; but since it has no money it cannot make up, by Gothic architecture, costly music, and brilliant preaching for what it lacks in religion, as its sister city church does.

In several addresses is heard a note of faith that the tide of urbanization and industrialization is ebbing, and that ministers of ability and vision, and laymen of enterprise and culture will again be attracted farm-ward. There is much in this volume to show how the rehabilitation of the Protestant rural church may be not only a happy effect but also a potent cause of such a reaction.

CHARLES LYTTLE

MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL
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The Structure and Meaning of Psychoanalysis as Related to Personality and Behavior. By WILLIAM HEALY, AUGUSTA F. BRONNER, and ANNA MAE BOWERS, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930. Pp. xx+482. $5.00.

If Freud were so disposed he could construct—as did H. L. Mencken recently—an interesting *schimpflexikon* of the invective, sarcasm, and diatribe for which he and his theories have been the target for almost a generation. Even today it is possible to hear such denunciations as the following:

On the very foundation of a half truth, Freud has built up a veritable Woolworth Tower of untruth, but has had the luck to strike one of the most deep-seated of all human passions (sex). . . . . It is popular and fascinating with those lacking in . . . . brain power (Berry in *Current History*).

Psychoanalysis is the spoiled child of a realistic age and its boisterous manner should be corrected by a metaphysical spanking (Bodenheim in *The Nation*).

By its vile theory of sublimation it (psychoanalysis) reduces the loftiest religious ideas to sex symbols (Bruehl in *The Catholic World*).

Horses and dogs are much nicer than most people. *Their* minds are not sinks of iniquity! (Vandewater in *The Century*).

In spite of abuse and opposition, however, psychoanalysis has become more or less an integral part of our present-day thought and action in the field of psychology. Clinically, at least, it is explicitly embodied in the routine diagnostic and therapeutic procedures of most psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers. Yet strangely enough its philosophical bases have never been carefully examined. Neither have its values and its limitations been determined or agreed upon. It is not surprising, therefore, that we should welcome with avidity a book by Doctors Healy and Bronner with the intriguing title, *The Structure and Meaning of Psychoanalysis*.

Dr. Healy and his Judge Baker Foundation staff are not psychoanalysts, of course. Yet in their own wide experience they have found psychoanalysis a useful "instrument of psychological research." In dealing with the personality problems of children they have apparently developed an appreciation for "psychoanalytical values." In order to make these values increasingly clear to themselves and to others, they undertook to arrange and classify the assumptions, concepts, and principles of psychoanalysis, and to make these results available in printed form. At the outset the authors discovered "a veritable maze of material" pertaining to psychoanalysis in English and in French as well as in German. In attempting to organize the ideas of "the psychoanalytic school," Miss Bowers worked "for over two years . . . . continuously." The vast amount of material so considered and classified has resulted in a work quite unlike any other book on the subject. Certainly it is very different from anything that Freud himself ever wrote.

At the outset the authors deal with what they call the "cardinal formulations." Here we find a meticulous exposition of such familiar concepts as libido, ambivalence; the unconscious, the id, the ego, etc. Here too is a consideration of such things as the "pleasure-principle," "the reality-principle," "the Nirvana-principle," etc., said to be implicit in all of Freud's thinking. A second section deals with the three more or less distinct periods of psycho-sexual development, viz., infancy, latency (from five to twelve years), and adolescence. The famous Oedipus complex and its corollaries occupies a third section. Section four sketches the psychoanalytic theory of the individual's "inherent psychic pattern," while section five—the most lucid of them all—deals with what Healy here, as usual, calls the "dynamics" of mental life, viz., transference, symbolization, dream-work, projection, repression, etc. Section six is a miscellany of phenomena such as suicide, stammering, homosexuality, delinquency, etc., interpreted in the light of orthodox psychoanalytic theory. A final section deals with therapy and summarizes the disappointingly little that has been written by Freud and the psychoanalysts on this most important phase of the subject.

The outstanding limitation of the book—meritorious as it is—is its colorlessness. Except for the statement (p. xv) "for general understanding of the personality there can be no minimizing the importance of psychoanalytic fundamentals," the work contains no analyses and no set of conclusions which are

either critical or evaluative. Too often, in fact, the treatment of a particular topic becomes merely a series of paragraphs each one cast in the same literary mold, like the following (p. 434):

Freud says . . . .
J. Glover points out that . . . .
Ferenczi says that . . . .
E. Glover agrees that . . . .

The book is essentially a glossary or a lexicon.

The materials are organized uniquely, however. The left-hand pages contain what the authors call "the orthodox (Freudian) theories and findings of psychoanalysis," while the right-hand pages contain, in smaller type, expository matter and the differing views of the leading psychoanalysts. It must be said, however, that this structural style seems better suited to the analysis of a case study—where it was first used by the authors—than to the exposition of a system of thought and a set of concepts like psychoanalysis.

The authors' method of treatment serves very well to accentuate the obvious incompleteness of the Freudian scheme and to point out the many gaps in it. This is well illustrated in the case of repression, with regard to which the authors say (p. 219) "Every student can readily see that it is one of the unique discoveries of psychoanalysis." In concluding their comment regarding the difficulty they experienced in fully explaining repression, the authors confess (p. 219): "If we ourselves are wholly correct in every detail it will be a surprise to us. . . . ." One wonders why Dr. Healy or one of his colleagues did not feel it important enough to interview Freud personally with a view to clearing up a few of these important points.

Bibliographically the book is a great disappointment. Less than two pages are devoted to a consideration of the sources of materials on the entire subject of psychoanalysis. Such titles as are listed in the Appendix do not contain any reference to a publisher or a date of publication and in most instances do not give the name of the translator. Even such an important bibliographical source as Rickman's *Index Psychoanalyticus* is merely mentioned but not identified. Moreover, all references to the quotations used throughout the book are omitted, except for the author's surname.

On the whole, the book is decidedly worth while and has much to commend it. Students and practitioners alike will find it very useful. One thing, however, is certain: we shall never be able fully to understand or satisfactorily to deal with psychoanalysis merely by piecing together the scattered writings of its founder. What is urgently needed is an exhaustive analysis and an objective appraisal of psychoanalysis—its philosophy, its methods, and its results. And this ought to be a million-dollar research project, at least.

ARTHUR L. BEELEY

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH
SALT LAKE CITY

The Battle of Behaviorism: An Exposition and an Exposure. By JOHN B. WATSON and WILLIAM MCDOUGALL. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1929. Pp. 96. $1.00.

"The Battle of Behaviorism," as fought out in single combat by Watson and McDougall in 1924, is still resounding. The little volume recording this famous debate has been printed with an added post-mortem by McDougall.

Watson opens with a direct exposition of the essentials of behaviorism. There is hardly opportunity in such a presentation for adequate statement of basic evidence, and, on the other hand, some of the dramatic philosophical conclusions of this line of reasoning are stressed. One trained to expect the sober process of scientific demonstration before accepting statements as significant cannot but rebel at many points in Watson's development; much as the average person, after a short time with a native son of California, conceives a great fondness for Florida.

Whatever the shortcomings of behaviorism or Watson's case for it, McDougall's attack is even less satisfactory. The troubled waters of controversy are thick with red herring. Behaviorism, he says, is of three varieties—metaphysical, Watsonian, and sane. The latter McDougall claims for his very own, the Watsonian variety being, by contrast, insane. Watson deludes and hampers himself by excluding introspection as a method of study and denying "purpose" as a goal of life. Possibly McDougall's most serious attack is launched upon the absolute mechanism at the basis of behaviorism. He urges that physics, the source of present biological mechanical philosophy, is itself entering a new phase of indeterminism—a prediction amply verified in the intervening years.

Another prediction, however, that behaviorism, as a passing fad, would be unknown in a few years time, has gone sadly astray. In his epilogue, McDougall rather mournfully blames this discrepancy on his overrating of the American intelligence. (Only in garish America has behaviorism flourished under the ministration of a paternal journalism.)

The debate is amusing and exciting. It gives considerable insight into the personalities of Watson and McDougall: less into their systems of belief. Perhaps it were better entitled, "The Battle of Behaviorists."

MARGARET W. GERARD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Adolescence: Studies in Mental Hygiene. By FRANKWOOD E. WILLIAMS, M.D. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1930. Pp. 279. $2.50.

Again, adolescence offers a theme for mental hygiene popularization. In these essays, however, adolescence is merely a title. The major content is concerned with an espousal of present-day mental hygiene tenets, oriented by the psychoanalytic theory. There has been slight attempt to systematize the

papers into a complete whole, each chapter duplicating in different words much of other chapter contents. The style is racy, the language slangy, and the narrative is rich with dramatic similes and metaphors, all of which popularizes the book for the general public.

One might have expected, however, a greater original contribution from one of Dr. Williams' recognized position in the psychiatric world. There is a paucity of controlled case discussions and a total lack of scientific evidence. In spite of the note of authority which is struck, we have just another book of propaganda for child-guidance clinics, for mental hygiene in the schools, and for an acceptance of the psychiatric viewpoint in all phases of life-work.

M. W. G.

The New Generation. The Intimate Problems of Modern Parents and Children. Edited by V. F. CALVERTON and SAMUEL D. SCHMALHAUSEN. New York: Macaulay Co., 1930. Pp. 717. $5.00.

Since the present age seems to be one of popular education or edification by the use of surveys and outlines, it is quite fitting that this volume should appear at this time. To be sure, except for its predecessor, *Sex in Civilization*, it is different from most of the current outlines in being a survey of ideas rather than of scientific or historic facts. Because of this type of subject matter, the book offers little unity, each chapter being an entity in itself; and, although there is an attempt at grouping of articles under various headings, the grouping is artificial and any haphazard order would have been equally satisfactory. Many subjects are touched in the discussion, but parents hold the center of attention and the title might rather be "The Passing Generation." The divergence of opinions covers the whole range of thought from J. B. Watson's dogma of the uselessness and harmfulness of the parents, to the belief of B. Malinowski that the family always has been and should continue to be the social and early educational unit. The majority opinion of the authors leans toward Dr. Watson and the emphasis of the first part of the book is on the harm done to the child by the usual parent-and-family environment. Parents are severely admonished, and there is a tendency to talk down to them from a position of omniscience. This attitude is particularly marked in the article of B. Liber on "The Pathos of Parenthood."

Of the thirty-three authors, many merely repeat material which has been written before by themselves or others. A few, however, bring a fresh viewpoint or new ideas to their subject. Both the burning questions of sex and of the social order play important rôles for discussion in most of the chapters. Particularly sane and illuminating to the general reader are the chapters by Havelock Ellis and Phyllis Blanchard on perversions and obscenities, since they analyze these forms of behavior and dispel the taboos and condemnation usually associated with them. Wilhelm Stekel, Bernard Glueck, and Fritz Wittels discuss various phases of the Freudian theory. T. Swan Harding enters a plea for male po-

lygamy and female monogamy, apparently believing that the Mormon state is more successful than more orthodox groups, whereas C. E. Ayers believes in monogamy for both men and women but lays its failure at the door of our social caste system. Pleas for a new social order for the new generation are upheld, as might be expected, by Scott Nearing, Michael Gold, and V. F. Calverton. In the field of education, John Langdon-Davies, in his delightful journalistic style, condemns the English public-school system, while Harry Elmer Barnes offers a plan for modern universities which will separate cultural and educational groups, both to be under the control of the "intellectually capable."

Perhaps the most valuable as a positive contribution, rather than a rehearsal of previously expressed ideas, is the chapter on "The Creative Impulse in Children" by Florence Cane, illustrated with charming paintings by young children. And the keynote of the modern spirit is touched in Bertrand Russell's introduction when he concludes, "Our age is more kindly disposed toward children than any earlier age has been."

M. W. G.

On Being a Father. By K. M. and E. M. WALKER. London: Jonathan Cape, 1928. Pp. 192. 5*s*.

As woman's place outside of the home is gradually being accepted, man is beginning to ask for his rightful place within the home. *On Being a Father* is an attempt to educate man toward better behavior at home, that his place may be assured. It is written in a facetious, light vein and illustrated freely with delightfully humorous sketches by Violet M. Guy. The purport, however, is serious and there is much wisdom scattered through the pages. The home setting is English and, therefore, does not apply in its entirety to the American home. Of universal application is the description of the biology of reproduction, pregnancy, and the psychological changes to be expected during pregnancy. A plea is offered for understanding and sympathy for the mother at this period rather than disgust and intolerance of her. The chapters on the behavior of the child and its education agree with the best of modern ideas on child training and, because of the wit scattered through the pages, parents may read the book more readily than the more ponderous volumes offered to them.

M. W. G.

Training Children. By WILLIAM H. PYLE. New York: Century Co., 1929. Pp. 206. $1.75.

This book answers many everyday questions that are constantly asked by those responsible for the guidance of children. The author is director of the Children's Clinic at Detroit Teachers College, and his wide experience and his training in psychology and education fit him excellently to give practical and definite answers to many problems in child-training with which parents are confronted.

There are nine chapters which deal with the general principles of child-training, emphasizing in an encouraging manner the contributions of studies in heredity and habit formation. The place of moral training in the child's developmental program is stressed. There follows an analysis of many problem situations. Concrete recommendations for correction and prevention of undesirable traits are suggested. The problem and answer method is used in this part of the book and definitely adds to its usefulness as a guide and teacher. A well-selected bibliography is attached, and to make the book particularly valuable for discussion groups and study classes a carefully constructed set of questions ends each chapter, reviewing the material there presented and inviting an exchange of opinion and experience.

H. A. D.

An Introductory Study of the Family ("Century Catholic College Texts"). By EDGAR SCHMIEDELER. New York: Century Co., 1930. Pp. xi+384. $2.50.

Never before has the family as an institution received so much scientific consideration. It is studied and researched from every possible angle; it is attacked and defended; its death knell is sounded and yet it is again proclaimed the salvation of society. In this conflict and controversy the study of Dr. Schmiedeler is a welcome contribution if only for its sane and objective treatment.

It is a thoughtful examination of the evidence offered by the various schools of thought and emotion and calmly evaluated in the light of Christian doctrine and practice. It presents a clear view of the development of the family, emphasizing it not only as a social unit but also as a necessary integrated entity. The social value of monogamy is again made evident and paramount, with emphasis on its development of personality.

The disintegrating influences of the family are systematically treated as industrialism, the spread of feminism, rationalism, romanticism, and immigration. These are studied under such chapter headings as "The Changed Status of Women," "The Family and Its Workers," "The Family and Recreation," "The Perversions of Love," "Family Tensions and Broken Homes."

The most valuable chapters are those on the reintegrated family, which are devoted to a discussion of remedies and solutions for the ills and problems of modern family life. The factors of importance in family reintegration are considered. The capacities of forces which could be used to stabilize family life are here indicated, and the author is optimistic enough to feel that they are potentially more effective than the factors engaged in family disintegration. Premarital preparation and the desirable qualifications to be sought in a life-partner are fully but delicately handled. There is also evidence that the author is convinced that the state has been too careless in regard to its supervision of marriages. Religious considerations apart, certain kinds of marriages necessarily adversely

affect the welfare of the state. The hope to be derived from education, and especially from parent and sex education, is treated in a calm and scholarly manner.

The great aid which the church contributes to those who accept her teachings is emphasized. The author seems to feel that the church could increase her influence and benefits markedly—if only more would turn to her for help. The time-worn slander to the effect that the church disparages marriage in favor of celibacy is not honored by direct reference, but the writer indicates the wholesome and sensible attitude of the church, recognizing that some are called to one state, and some to another. The lives of self-denial practiced by those who have voluntarily accepted religious vows are stressed because of the effective examples thereby given.

In a final chapter, concerned with the possibilities of the home as an educational agency, the author has advanced various original ideas in substantiation of his thesis that the home cannot be advantageously superseded by any other agency for the training of the child. This training is emphasized repeatedly, since the author sees in the well-trained child the paramount contribution to the state. From the Catholic standpoint it is a lucid statement and will be appreciated by the general reader as well as by the college student, for whom the book is especially designed.

FREDERIC SIEDENBURG, S.J.

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
CHICAGO

A Chapter of Child Health. Report of the Commonwealth Fund Child Health Demonstration in Clarke County and Athens, Georgia, 1924–1928. New York: The Commonwealth Fund Division of Publications, 1930. Pp. v+169. $1.00.

This is a detailed but interesting report of the work of the Commonwealth Fund Health Program over four years in Clarke County, Georgia. It is divided into four parts with two appendixes. The first part deals with a description of the community and the health plan. The district was an ideal one for demonstration purposes; more than half of the population were white mill hands and Negroes, living for the most part in poverty. The plan was to stress preventive medicine and health education, and was designed to strengthen both the health department and the private practice of medicine and dentistry.

The second part contains a description of what the workers did. Twelve thousand medical examinations, ten thousand dental examinations, seventeen thousand nursing visits were made, and corrections of physical handicaps advised and selected dietary régimes outlined. This was for the school children; for the infants, health centers were established, and the mothers taught how to keep the baby well. Prenatal and postnatal instruction was given to both white and colored mothers.

The results were shown first by the decreased mortality. In one thousand families, the parents reported the children's health bettered; in infants under one year of age the death-rate during the years 1925–28 for those cared for was for the white one-sixth, and for the colored one-third, of the rate for those not under care. As for the maternal death-rate during the same period, the death-rate in the group of mothers under care was less than half that in the group of mothers not under care. Second, an increase in public interest and reception was shown by the increased health budget appropriated for the following years. Third, there was an increased interest in prophylactic medicine as shown by the continuance of many families with private physicians.

The book should be of interest to all persons interested in social service work as a description of ideal community measures in health work and the excellent results that can be attained.

HEYWORTH N. SANFORD

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UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Tuberculosis among Children. By J. ARTHUR MYERS, with chapters by C. A. STEWART and PAUL W. GIESSLER, and an introduction by ALLEN K. KRAUSE. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1930. Pp. xiv+208. $3.50.

In the author's own words, "This volume is an attempt to bring to date in compact form our knowledge of diagnosis, treatment, prognosis and prevention of tuberculosis among children for the busy practitioner." Out of his experience as Chief of Staff of the Lymanhurst School for Tuberculous Children in Minneapolis, Dr. Myers has presented a summary of present-day knowledge and a description of diagnostic procedure and therapeutic measures sufficiently detailed to be of practical value. He distinguishes between the childhood type of the disease with its hopeful outlook, and the adult type more common in the teen ages with its progressive character and less favorable prognosis. The book is enriched by the addition of chapters by various authorities on tuberculous meningitis, on tuberculosis of the bones and joints, and on chronic non-tuberculous basal-pulmonary diseases in childhood.

Dr. Myers has the public-health point of view throughout. Stating that the control of tuberculosis is a duty of the medical profession, he points out where the physician can prevent exposure and where he can work for a more thorough control of the disease in the community. The chapters on the certainty of exposure within the family group and the danger from undetected cases of tuberculosis among the elderly touch situations where the practitioner alone can meet the problem.

Aside from its prime interest to the physician and to those who assist him in the actual care of the patient, the book is of value to those who are supporting the physician in his fight against tuberculosis. It brings out in striking fash

ion how the plan of campaign has changed in the last generation, so that now the attack is on the disease in its childhood type. It emphasizes the prevention of infection by the discovery and control of open cases, and the forestalling of the later, progressive type of the disease by the discovery and adequate supervision of all the children in whom infection has taken place. The brief mention of special schools and preventoria might well have been amplified.

LOUISE B. POWERS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Civilization and the Cripple. By FREDERICK WATSON. London: John Bale, 1930; Elyria, Ohio: International Society for Crippled Children. Pp. xi+120. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Watson describes this book as an "introduction to the largely unexplored and always complex subject of what one might christen 'social orthopedics.'" He has studied the social problem of the cripple against its historical background and has traced the development of voluntary services, indicating some of the outstanding difficulties that confront social workers in this still pioneer field. He points out that the social abuses—bad housing, unhealthy working conditions, low wages, and the prolonged labor of women and children, whose heavy toll of crippled lives first gave rise to the movements of reform in the nineteenth century—still operate. It is said to be essential that social workers recognize that the problem of the crippled is not isolated but closely interlinked with other social problems and that what is needed is mutual co-operation between social services and the state.

Modern methods of approaching the problems of the crippled are of recent development. The author finds that, although there had been some progress in surgical technique, and some attempt had been made by the Factory acts to stop the appalling manufacture of cripples, the causes of crippling were still "unsuspected and unopposed" at the end of the nineteenth century. Between 1900 and the outbreak of the World War definite progress in the orthopedic care of children had been made in England, Germany, and America, and the application of these principles to the care of soldiers led to the rapid advance of orthopedics as a department of surgery. Among the more significant contributions of the war to the cause of the crippled was the recognition of the dual function of the orthopedist in the training of the patient's mind as well as his muscles and joints, from which has developed the science of curative training which promises to revolutionize the orthopedic care of both children and adults, and to banish the traditional assumption that the crippled person must be supported in idleness.

In an analysis of the development of social programs for crippled children and adults since the war, some of the fundamental principles of the British, American, and German plans are indicated, and the international aspect of the movement is emphasized. It is shown that although public opinion in every

country admits the moral right to training and employment, ideals and methods vary widely; the voluntary system making a much stronger appeal to English psychology, while "the German prefers legislation, and the American believes in a clear-cut alliance of the State, the expert, and the social worker."

Since the crippled child is so largely the product of social conditions, and the adult of modern transport and industrial labor, the fundamental social problems are those of the prevention of crippling at its source, and the establishment of adequate machinery for the treatment and rehabilitation of the industrial cripple.

Within the province of the care of crippled children, Mr. Watson believes that the voluntary orthopedic scheme as it has been developed in the Shropshire area in England would, if it were made national, provide a satisfactory machinery for the discovery and treatment of crippled children. But the movement has been largely confined to pioneer work in local areas, and since the larger problems of prevention are outside the range of a local voluntary scheme, there is pressing need for a comprehensive program based upon a definitely formulated national policy. A strong central organization having the co-operation and confidence of its constituent members, with adequate funds, information, power to act, and authority to command, are, he believes, essential to progress.

The emphasis upon the care of crippled children in England has served to obscure the vast economic import of disablement from industrial and accidental causes. In the treatment and training of the adult cripple the author believes that the purely voluntary scheme in comparison with the American and German systems is less clearly economic, and that the progress of rehabilitation in the United States may be attributed to the bringing to bear of the whole machinery of state and voluntary services upon the individual case. He thinks the adult cripple may feel that he has two claims upon the state: (1) that adequate treatment should be available in an orthopedic hospital, and (2) that whether completely cured or not, he should be educated and trained for work suitable to his abilities and disability. As a guiding principle in any comprehensive scheme for adult cripples, it is shown that provision must be made for those who fall into two main groups: (1) those who can only work at home or in workshops under medical supervision, and (2) those disabled temporarily or permanently by industrial or other accidents, but who can work without medical supervision. For the care of these two groups the author outlines the character and general methods of procedure of a national organization representing official and voluntary agencies. Even in the face of the present world-wide problem of unemployment, Mr. Watson believes that with skilled guidance the disabled worker trained for *his job* rather than a job may stand as good a change as the normal worker, but that openings must be discovered and studied in relation to public demand.

In so brief a survey of exceedingly complex social problems it is inevitable that many important phases are merely indicated or given cursory treatment. Although the book deals primarily with the immediate situation in England,

Mr. Watson has kept clearly in view the fundamental principles of a constructive social program for crippled children and adults under conditions found in all communities. The book has much of value for American social workers in this difficult field.

LAURA HOOD

LAPORTE, INDIANA

Das Recht des unehelichen Kindes und seiner Mutter im In- und Ausland. By HANS TOMFORDO. Third edition completely revised by FRIEDRICH DIEFENBACH and DR. HEINRICH WEBLER. Berlin: Carl Heymanns, 1930. Pp. vi+246. M. 9.

First appearing in 1916, this manual of law and right for illegitimate children and their mothers has been kept up-to-date by two subsequent revisions. Prepared at the Archiv deutscher Berufsvormünder in Frankfurt am Main, it is based upon a wealth of material in this specialized field nowhere else available. It is therefore the one general source in existence for information concerning illegitimacy laws. The law and practice in eighty-five countries are summarized. The great number of recent important changes in illegitimacy laws throughout the world made a new revised edition important.

The last ten pages of the volume give a brief review of the twenty-five years of international work for the care and protection of illegitimate children on the part of the Archiv deutscher Berufsvormünder.

EARL D. MYERS

BERLIN

Postwar Progress in Child Welfare (Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. CLI, September, 1930). Edited by J. PRENTICE MURPHY and JAMES H. S. BOSSARD. Philadelphia, 1930. Pp. iv+219. $2.00.

This important but modest collection of papers on the subject of the development in the child welfare field between the second and the third White House Conference is especially interesting in comparison with the elaboration of that last great inquest. The reader of this volume who has likewise observed the Conference is reminded of the story with which our grandmothers used to point a moral. In *The Parents' Assistant*, which many parents might read today with profit and should be in the lists provided by those assuming responsibility for parents' education, there is the tale of two boys who were to run a race in the snow. One kept his eyes on his goal, one on his feet!

Mr. Murphy's introductory editorial summarizes the material presented later. He has his eyes on his goal—the child with proper opportunities in the community of today. The child's right to be born, to have his mother live with him instead of die for him, leads him at once to the subject of maternity and

infant care; the questions of the dependent, the defective, the delinquent child fall into their places; and with the problems of physical, mental, social needs of the child are those of persons properly equipped to meet those needs, of the increasing body of scientific material (see Dr. Neva Deardorff's article, p. 195), of resources made available from generation to generation (see Mr. Bradway's treatment of the subject of Endowments, p. 184), and of the sociological interpretation of changes that are taking place (see Mr. Ogburn's article on the Changing Family, p. 20).

With the development in the private field, there has been the great expansion in the public service as well. In many states—Mr. Murphy mentions New Jersey, California, Pennsylvania, Alabama, and North Carolina—new local developments bring great promise; and in the national field, Mr. Murphy pays special tribute to the two great public servants who have held the position of Chief of the United States Children's Bureau, when he says:

> Rare leadership has been shown by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. The two chief executive officers since its founding rank among the great civic leaders of our time. Increasing interest in child welfare research, promulgation of standards, and interpretations based on sound study, are attributable in large measure to this Federal agency.

S. P. Breckinridge

University of Chicago

American Charities and Social Work. By Amos G. Warner, Stuart A. Queen, and Ernest B. Harper. Fourth edition. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1930. Pp. 615. $3.75.

Another and probably more adequate survey of present-day social work is presented in this volume. It is preceded by a brief historical statement of the origins of philanthropy and includes the major portion of Warner's *American Charities* originally published in 1894 and against which the theories and practices of current social work are briefly contrasted. If one has no prejudice against the method used, the book will be found to contain a comprehensive and thorough catalogue of contemporary social work activities. Furthermore, it must be kept in mind that the stated purpose of the volume is to present a picture of the background and present situation to the layman and beginner in social work, and is not designed as a critique for the professionally trained individual.

For some it will be a matter of regret that the scholarly work of Amos Warner is not allowed to stand alone—the classic that it is with its introductory chapter, "Philanthropy and Economics." Representing as it does the economic approach to social work, its inclusion in this volume emphasizing the present-day psychiatric and sociological trend may prove of special significance ten years hence.

As for Part III, *Contemporary Social Work*, one probably should not quarrel

with such a competent arrangement of material. However, it does raise one question and that is whether a three hundred and fifty-four page survey of present-day professional social work should not devote at least one chapter to a specific discussion of the place of government in social work, instead of dispersing the discussion throughout the several chapters in this section.

ELIZABETH WISNER

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
TULANE UNIVERSITY

Riders of the Plagues. The Story of the Conquest of Disease. By JAMES A. TOBEY. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930. Pp. xiv+348. $3.50.

The subtitle of this book offers a proper description of its contents. The reader is offered a journalistic "story" and not a scholarly discussion of the history of the various public health movements. Whether the story is found interesting or not, will depend largely upon the reader's lack of knowledge of the subjects dealt with and also upon whether the journalistic style as here presented is enjoyed. Social workers in particular who are familiar with the history of the work of Lord Shaftesbury (1801–85) will be irritated by the section in which his work is discussed. The following extract is typical:

> Just as John Howard had been disgusted with conditions in penal institutions, so was the noble Earl of Shaftesbury shocked by disgusting disclosures as to the extremely insanitary conditions forced upon innumerable wretched children by unscrupulous manufacturers. These immature laborers often slaved for sixteen hours a day . . . . and when this charming toil was over, they were packed into filthy barracks. . . . . It was strange in those days for a belted nobleman to give a rap about such proletariats as factory snipes, but this one was different. He insisted that something was going to be done and in 1802, after a vigorous report had been made in 1784, and much hullabaloo had arisen in between, Parliament passed the first British Factory Act. Thus began industrial hygiene (p. 59).

There is room for question as to whether or not the Health and Morals of Apprentices Act which is referred to above should be called the first factory act or not; but there is no question that the writer is in error in attributing it to the efforts of Lord Shaftesbury, who was only one year old when the act was passed.

With similar inaccuracy the act of 1833, which applied only to cotton mills, is described as "a really comprehensive factory law."

The account of the work of Dorothea Dix may also be quoted as indicating the author's style:

> From the conquest of Massachusetts, Dorothea Dix stepped over into Rhode Island. She spent the remainder of her life stepping from one state to another and when she finished nearly half a century after she began her crusading career, the remainder of the chains had been struck from the crazy. . . . . It is doubtful if there ever has been another indomitable reformer like this Miss Dix. Though often half dead herself, she persevered and by sheer personality and force of will accomplished her purposes. . . . .

After the deluded Mr. Pierce had vetoed her pet project, Miss Dix dashed off to England, the steamship company insisting upon conveying her as its guest. Although she went on a vacation, she apparently could not resist the temptation to pry into the condition of the insane all over the British Isles. . . . . When Miss Dix got sick, the queen's physician treated her, and, all in all, she made a very successful invasion.

Off to the continent she traipsed next, and after recuperating in Switzerland, proceeded to Rome (p. 291).

E. A.

History of the Illinois State Federation of Labor ("Social Science Studies," XV). By EUGENE STALEY. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. Pp. x+579. $4.00.

This work is a companion volume to that by Earl R. Beckner on *A History of Labor Legislation in Illinois*.[1] Both volumes are of the series known as "Social Science Studies" of the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago. The publication of these two studies has had the distinct advantage of permitting the investigators and authors to interview many of the men who were active as much as fifty years ago and still tarry among us. The narrative of the origin and development of the Illinois State Federation of Labor could not be so accurate or so vivid as it has been made except by interviews with such old-time leaders and participants as George Schilling, William C. Pomeroy, Joseph Farris, Charles J. Riefler, John C. Harding, and others.

Although there was much organized-labor history before that date, the book opens with an account of the first meeting of unionists in the Seaman's Hall, Chicago, in January, 1884. This meeting was the precursor of the State Federation of Labor. The meeting and those in successive years were really only annual conferences until 1888, when the trade unionists in the conference or association reorganized the Illinois State Labor Association, re-wrote the constitution, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and changed the name to the Illinois State Federation of Labor. The new organization had a most difficult time to maintain its integrity during the next decade because of several disrupting elements—the rivalry of the Knights of Labor, the bitter divisions over the Haymarket meeting, and the issue of independent political action. One cannot read of the uncertain and devious course of the organization during these years without realizing how serious an element the question of the relation of the economic organization—the trade union—to political organization becomes.

From time to time impatience with the old parties leads aggressive labor men to attempt the organization of a labor party; but always this has been an unsuccessful undertaking, probably for the reason given the author by one who had many experiences in the matter. George Schilling says: "There is an instinctive feeling among trade unionists that when they join a union they do not surrender their individual politics or religion. They will go so far in a political movement, but if pressed too far they jump the track" (p. 82).

[1] See this *Review*, IV, 139.

However, the work is chiefly valuable as illustrating on a large scale the intimate relation of organized labor to the enactment and enforcement of labor legislation. As the author points out so definitely in the Introduction, the real history of the Illinois State Federation of Labor begins with the establishment of the organization on its present lines after the stormy times of the nineties. Since that time its chief significance lies in its relation to legislation.

> It is in the legislative functions of the state federation of labor that its essential character lies. . . . . For the state federation of labor is an economic institution and it is also a political institution. In its fundamental character it is a link between the economic system of voluntary exchange on one hand and the political system of compulsory law and order on the other.

How the Illinois Federation has acted and interacted in these two relations is the tale of this book. Because it does give such clear insight in how state law comes into existence it is of interest not only to labor men and their opponents, the manufacturing and commercial groups, but likewise to that much enduring but poorly informed individual—the common citizen.

Besides the interest in the mass development of the organization one finds discriminating thumbnail sketches of the men and women who have been active in the movement. Men like Mark D. Crawford of early days, "Tommy" Morgan the irrepressible, the astute Schilling, and in latter days, Edwin R. Wright, John Walker, Duncan McDonald, Agnes Nestor, and, overshadowing all, Victor A. Olander, since 1912 secretary-treasurer and directing genius of the organization. Olander is a seaman, and he has been the helmsman of the organization through heavy seas and thus far held it safely and strongly on its course.

JAMES MULLENBACH

CHICAGO

The Labor Philosophy of Samuel Gompers. By LOUIS S. REED. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. Pp. 190. $3.00.

In this study the author seeks to account for certain outstanding policies of the American Federation of Labor largely on the basis of Mr. Gompers' attitudes, resulting from personal experiences. The author begins with the assumption that in comparison with the labor movement abroad, which has gained in power, the movement in the United States is becoming increasingly impotent. Such an assumption is open to question if the intangible effects of labor organization are considered rather than merely membership in a labor party. The first chapters are devoted to a brief review of the non-partisan political program of the Federation, with the causes that shaped it. In this discussion the constructive aspects of non-partisan political action and of economic voluntarism receive scant consideration. Whatever the personal motives or limitations may have been initially, it is possible that economic voluntarism represents not merely laissez faire, but an attempt to avoid the rigidity of European socialism, based on a deep-lying sense of class conflict, and a groping toward new methods of economic and political control.

The chapters on the war and on international policies of the Federation as shaped by Mr. Gompers throw light on his too fervid patriotism and his war-time power. Whether these war-time attitudes were as definitely due to his hatred of Germany and socialism as the author suggests or whether the motives were more mixed is open to question. The failure to work with the International Trade Union Movement and direction of effort toward better relations with Mexico are brought out.

The difficulties encountered by craft unionism in attempting to organize the unskilled and to meet the problems of concentration and specialization of modern industry are mentioned, but not the problems of organization and of workers' education necessary to adapt the economic program of the labor movement to the needs of the present industrial order. The task of finding an economic way out is perhaps even more difficult than that of establishing a labor party. Although the point of view might have been more charitable toward the failures of the Federation had the writer been closely acquainted with the practical organization problems that it meets, the book is of particular value in its attempt to interpret a movement on the basis of the genius and limitations of its great leader.

MOLLIE RAY CARROLL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Contribution of Economics to Social Work. By AMY HEWES. Published for the New York School of Social Work. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. Pp. ix+137. $2.00.

The title of this book is clearly a misnomer, and the contents cannot be guessed from the publisher's blurb. It is a series of six lectures delivered at the New York School of Social Work under the following titles: "The Rate of Economic Change," "The Measurement of Economic Data," "What Can a Community Afford?" "The Bargaining Power of Groups and Individuals," "Economic Myths," and "The Economist's Outlook." As the titles suggest, the six lectures are disconnected; no one is dependent on what has gone before or points the way to those that follow. Whatever unity the series has is found in the fact that each deals either with a problem which in Professor Hewes' opinion should be the common concern of economist and social worker; or with a phase of the economist's thinking with which Professor Hewes thinks the social worker should be familiar. The subjects discussed are large, and the length of the essays precludes any exhaustive or very original treatment. But the essays are readable, interesting, and often suggestive. Furthermore, they call attention to much of the more recent work in economics, and on the whole should serve admirably as a "stimulus to the broader study of economics" which was one of the objects for which they were designed.

Some question arises, however, of the place of a series such as this in a school for social work. It may indeed refresh the memory of students whose work in

economics was taken some time in the past; it may perhaps do something to suggest the relevance to their present interests of what seemed like a mere academic discipline; it certainly makes clear, if that needed doing, that the economist and social worker have common interests and are, in a measure at least, at work on common problems.

All that is to the good, but it is not always clear that the essays are addressed to a group presumed to have some familiarity with economic thought. Indeed at times they seem to be primarily for the student to whom the works of economists have been closed books. Such students unfortunately are sometimes found in schools of social work, in spite of a growing insistence on some formal work in economics as pre-professional training. For these students also the present series may be useful. But it would be extremely unfortunate if these students or anyone else should get an idea that these lectures could in any way make up their deficiencies and serve as a substitute for the thorough grounding in economic thought and the acquaintance with our economic order which every social worker needs. Of course, neither the New York School nor Miss Hewes intended any such suggestion. But as schools on the professional level seldom offer lectures simply as an invitation to take up a subject seriously, there is danger that their intentions may be misinterpreted. To this possible misunderstanding the misleading title contributes its quota.

HELEN R. WRIGHT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Unemployment Benefits in the United States. The Plans and Their Setting. By BRYCE M. STEWART. New York: Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., 1930. Pp. xviii+727. $7.50.

When the Couzens Committee on Industry and Labor of the United States Senate was making its report in 1928, Professor Commons urged that the material collected by the Industrial Relations Counselors on our employers' unemployment compensation schemes be incorporated bodily into the Committee report. Description of these schemes in twelve plants covered all known employers' plans in the United States. The exhaustive investigation of unemployment compensation and prevention made by Mr. Stewart and his associates is now published in this volume, which is a veritable handbook of American methods of meeting unemployment and the first of a series of projected studies of the problem in many countries.

Part I shows the phases of American thinking on unemployment: first, relief and repression; then, emphasis upon the disorganized state of the labor market as cause of unemployment with advocacy of better statistics, employment exchanges, and vocational guidance; and, now, analysis of phenomena of the business cycle with effort at better control. There follow chapters on statistics, employment exchanges, and vocational guidance as methods of approach; public works and regularization schemes; trade-union, joint, and employer benefit

schemes, and the resulting experience; and legislative attempts to compensate unemployment. The sporadic character of these plans is evident. General principles of unemployment compensation are outlined.

Part II gives in detail trade-union and joint schemes, the company plans numbering fifteen at the end of 1930, and proposed laws. Appendixes contain the main provisions of union, joint, and company plans, and of legislation. The significance of the volume is not indicated by the some 106,000 persons covered by the plans but in the fact that the book gathers together experience and principles at this early, experimental stage of our interest in unemployment compensation and control. The book is as illuminating as it is timely.

M. R. C.

Racial Factors in American Industry. By HERMAN FELDMAN. Based in part on a study made by the *Inquiry* under the direction of Bruno Lasker. New York: Harper & Bros., 1931. Pp. xiv+318. $4.00.

This temperate and comprehensive study takes up in some detail the special problems encountered by the Negro in securing employment and the prejudice toward him manifested in excluding him from certain occupations, in classing him as unfit for skilled work, in trade-union hostility, and generally in keeping him down. This is followed by discussion of prejudice toward the Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Mexican, and Indian. Then the American tradition of disparagement of the immigrant is brought out, together with the gradual establishment of the older immigrant in an acceptable status, and the pent-up resentment of the newcomer that sometimes breaks out in strange political alignments. Part II deals with social and industrial remedies.

The book is a timely reminder that restriction of immigration has not brought the tolerance that its advocates promised, but rather the opposite. It shows the dangers of that intolerance to our national life, the possible enrichment through cultural mixture of nationalities and races, and concrete methods of reducing friction and developing constructive policies. The book would be improved by a bibliography.

M. R. C.

Psychiatry in Industry. By V. V. ANDERSON. New York: Harper & Bros., 1929. Pp. 364. $4.00.

In the flood of unscientific and repetitive books on psychiatric subjects that inundate the market, it is a relief to discover a book such as this discussing problems that have been studied with the scientific methods at the command of the present day psychiatrist and that represents conclusions based upon the results of experiments. On the whole, this volume is well worth reading and it offers a challenge to persons using other methods in the alleviation of social maladjustment. The title suggests a broader field than is covered. In reality,

Dr. Anderson's work has been limited to one small field of industry, the department store; but for the study of this one industry, it is a satisfactory manual.

The book is a report of the four-year experimental study of the personnel problems of Macy & Co. by a research unit consisting of a psychiatrist, psychologist, and psychiatric social worker. The attitude of the author toward the employee's adjustment to the job is obviously that of the employer, yet the principle is upheld that the complete well-being of the employee is desirable for the employer as well as the employee. The major subjects discussed are: (1) the actual treatment of maladjusted persons; (2) the analysis of jobs and personality qualifications for each job; (3) the choosing of executives for promotion and examination leading to recommendations of all persons suggested for promotion; and lastly, (4) a study of automobile accidents and the development of a technique for choosing safe drivers.

It was found in the study that one-fifth of all employees fell into the problem case group. If under usual conditions, these persons are dropped from employment, the therapeutic work carried on by Mr. Anderson decreased the labor turn-over markedly. By means of the treatment, two-thirds of the problem cases were adjusted satisfactorily on the job, leaving only one-third of the group to be dropped. A decrease in labor turn-over is, of course, an advantage to the industry, and a large number of persons are thus spared the disappointment of dismissal and temporary unemployment. The author described a comparable decrease in time wasted in useless transfers to other jobs within the industry. This latter has been facilitated by the fitting of the individual into the job to which his personality seems most suitable, and by the routine examination of persons recommended for promotion. It has been particularly useful in the choosing of executives. A higher percentage of those chosen by the psychiatric method were successful than of those chosen through the ordinary channels.

The methods of testing developed for the examination of automobile drivers are ingenious, and, of course, should prove valuable to any industry employing many drivers, and might lead to more intelligent licensing of civilian drivers. In one year's study, the statistics gained are suggestive. The decrease in the number of accidents in the year studied in comparison to the preceding year was above 50 per cent for each month, reaching 82 per cent reduction in two of the months.

This whole project outlined by Dr. Anderson is, of course, still in the experimental stage and, as has been suggested by some critics, it may prove too bulky a method for practical use in many industries. However, Dr. Anderson possesses a stimulating research attitude which seeks constant improvement both in knowledge and technique by repeating processes and constantly checking findings.

M. W. G.

Some Southern Mill Workers and Their Villages. By JENNINGS J. RHYNE. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute for Research in Social Science, 1930. Pp. x+214. $2.50.

This is a real contribution not only to an accurate statistical knowledge of living conditions among a representative group of workers, but also to an intimate understanding of what their day-to-day living is like.

The author makes no generalizations for the industry, offers no criticisms, and suggests no program for change. His stated purpose is the presentation of material gathered during 1926–27 in five mill villages in Gaston County, his own home and the most important textile district in North Carolina. In order to get a representative sample, Mr. Rhyne chose five hundred families carefully from four types of mill communities: the rural village, the cotton-mill town, the suburban village, and the company town. By means of schedules filled out for 2,362 individuals, he gathered figures on wages, housing, education, composition of the household, family mobility, and occupational history.

The survey shows wages in these southern mills considerably below the standard in New England, but much greater than the cash returns to cropper and tenant farmers in the state, a class from which most mill labor has been recruited. Average weekly wages are $15.72, and the yearly total just over $700 if sickness and other temporary unemployment are not discounted. While there are nearly two workers to the family on an average, there is only one wage-earner in half of the families; the family wage reaches an average of $1,313 a year, but the author should add that his own figures show a mean of only $1,157. He finds just under three dependents per family, but the basic figures are somewhat obscure, his total of 2,362 individuals, in 500 families, including only those over six years of age. Most of the children go into the mill, and the percentage of workers occupied permanently in this employment has risen from 18 to 70 per cent in three generations. In these villages only one-fifth of the families had an excessive mobility rate.

Mr. Rhyne's work should prove valuable as a guide to what may be a series of studies in mill communities throughout the South, not only because of the material gathered, but also because of the questions his study raises and does not answer. In gathering statistical data, this method may serve only as a substitute for a really comprehensive survey of the whole industry, such as a governmental agency should make; in giving the student or reader a genuine understanding of life in mill villages, however, this sort of individual study has distinct advantages over extensive statistical compilations in which specific situations are lost in totals and averages.

ELIZABETH YATES WEBB

NEW YORK CITY

Our Wants and How They Are Satisfied. By MOLLIE RAY CARROLL. Boston: M. Barrows and Company, 1930. Pp. ix+72. $1.00.

In barely sixty pages Dr. Carroll attempts to give the general reader the fundamentals of our economic system. Described in the conventional language of economics one section deals with production, one with distribution, one with financial organization, one with the minimum standard of living, and one with social control. As much as possible, however, technical terms are avoided and simplicity attained by relating each problem to the basic one, the character and efficiency of our arrangements for satisfying wants.

This book was written primarily to meet the long-felt need of the National League of Women Voters for a simple text for use in local study groups. The interest of these groups in public policies relating to woman and child labor and the regulation of business colors the discussion considerably.

An outline for study and a selected bibliography add to the usefulness of the book.

HAZEL KYRK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Society and Its Problems: An Introduction to the Principles of Sociology. By GROVE SAMUEL DOW. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co. Pp. 707. $3.00.

It is generally recognized that the teaching of elementary courses in sociology and that supplementary material variously called social pathology, social problems, and the field of social work is highly understandardized. No better evidence need be produced than the appearance of another edition of this book. For this represents a third revision of Professor Dow's volume, and, as stated in the Preface, it has been used as a textbook by hundreds of schools and widely read in extension classes for teachers. This attempt "to write a practical working text in a simple readable style which would arouse the interest and hold the attention of the student" is not entirely successful and perhaps is not well adapted for use in the smaller colleges and universities when more competent and authoritative presentations of this important body of material are available. It is not unfair to lift the following sentences from the text as they are illustrative of the presentation throughout the book:

> The strong seldom fall below the poverty line, and when they do they are generally able to rise again. The weak are not so, and often remain submerged. It is the same in regard to crime—the strong are able to resist temptation but the weak fall. The importance of inheritance appears through the inheritance of weaknesses.

E. W.

How To Abolish the Slums. By E. D. SIMON. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929. Pp. xii+146. 4*s.* 6*d.*

The author of this helpful book on the housing problem has had a long experience in housing reform work as a well-known Manchester councillor and an ex-mayor and chairman of the Manchester Corporation Housing Committee. He is also remembered by some Americans as the author of a useful little book, *Houses for All*, published a few years ago in the "New Way" series.

Mr. Simon's new book begins with a survey of the present position. He again criticizes the English census statistics of overcrowding as based on too low a standard and the Manchester standard of 2½ persons per bedroom. His discussion of a third standard which he calls the "sex standard" and which holds a house to be overcrowded unless the sleeping accommodations enable the parents to have one room and the boys and girls over ten years of age to be separated was also discussed in his earlier essay but very briefly. He now gives some interesting returns from a Manchester investigation which shows for a thousand houses that while on the Census or Registrar General's standard there were only 13.6 per cent of the houses overcrowded, on the Manchester standard of 2½ persons per bedroom there were 38.8 per cent overcrowded, and according to the third standard only 31.6 per cent overcrowded.

The conclusion that overcrowding is very serious and far more widespread than English census figures indicate is undoubtedly true. "Can the Worker Pay for a Decent House?" is Mr. Simon's most interesting chapter. This involves of course discussing the question of housing standards, cost of production, and rents. After reviewing Manchester and Birmingham post-war experiments, Mr. Simon concludes that "the lowest rent at which a decent house can be let is more than the rent which is today being paid by a great majority of the working classes." He then proceeds to consider whether the working classes can pay higher rents than they are now paying.

> It is probable that families of poorer workers would be healthier if their parents were prepared to sacrifice more of their personal comforts in order to spend rather more on rent. The amount which parents are willing to spend on rent is, to some extent, conventional. On the whole, the English worker is prepared to spend a substantially larger amount than the Scotch; he demands, by tradition and custom, a higher standard of housing, and is prepared to make more sacrifice to obtain it. It would no doubt be an advantage that this movement should go even further; meantime the worker must be accepted as he is. We have to consider not only his ability, but his willingness, to pay, and if slums are to be abolished we must provide alternative accommodation at rents which he is both able and willing to pay.

Mr. Simon estimates finally that a man with 60*s.* a week or less and three or more children cannot afford the rent of a "standard minimum house." He thinks there are approximately 450,000 such families in England and another 350,000 families with one or two children whose wages do not enable them to live in a proper house. He thinks 2,000,000 children are being brought up in homes

where health and full mental and bodily development are impossible. He finally adds:

> As these figures are very approximate, it would be safer to say that roughly there are a million families in the urban districts of England and Wales who cannot provide their children with the barest physical necessities, and in addition pay the rent of a standard minimum house. It seems possible that the remainder of the urban families of the country could afford a standard minimum house if they were willing to forego everything except the barest physical necessities, and if in every case the mother was a thoroughly competent manager. How far this is from being the case anybody who has any experience of slum life must know. Apart from the million above referred to there are immense numbers of families who, in fact, cannot afford the rent of a standard minimum house; that is to say, if they were put into such houses they could not keep their families properly clothed and fed. In addition to that there are an immense number where the father is not prepared to hand over the whole of his income and to spend nothing whatever on himself, and who therefore, although theoretically able, cannot be induced or forced to pay the rent of a standard minimum house.

Mr. Simon in his summary of the present situation deals with what he calls "post-war achievement" in the building of new houses and then with post-war failure in not abolishing slum areas. Americans are not so much interested in the details of the Chamberlain or the Wheatley subsidy and the number of houses built. In general, the conclusion is that the demand for houses by people who could afford to pay a fair rent for a decent home had been pretty well met in the first post-war decade. The outstanding need therefore which remains is the need of the slum-dwellers who cannot afford to pay for the standard houses that have been built with the help of public subsidies. It is the needs of this class that Mr. Simon especially considers.

What can be done about it? In the first place, he boldly faces the subsidy question. He even quotes Colonel Fremantle's statement against the subsidy principle, "It will be a disaster if the housing crusade leads to the permanent dependence on the State of any class for so vital a commodity as its housing: it would but create a fresh form of pauperism, with all its essential waste and stigma. He quotes also the statement of a well-known economist who said, "Unless we can pay such wages that people can pay for their own houses our present social system cannot be maintained."

In reply Mr. Simon thinks it must be recognized that present wages cannot pay for the education, health, and housing that children need. He is just as ready to subsidize housing as education. "It is false economy to spend £10 a year in educating a child, and then to let it grow up in a damp, dark house, horribly overcrowded, with nowhere to play; in so wretched a state of health that it cannot get the full benefit of its education."

Mr. Simon is clear that a laborer with children cannot afford to pay for a decent modern home. Either modern housing standards must be reached for the mass of low-paid wage-earners by means of subsidies or the scandals of the slums will continue. His discussions of the form of the subsidy are less applicable

to American conditions. One interesting point, however, is his emphasis on the use of the system of making a "children's rent allowance" in publicly owned working-class dwellings to promote the use of the more adequate house by the families most in need. Some experiments have already been made in England with the reduction of rent for every child of school age, notably in Welwyn Garden City and in Plymouth, and Mr. Simon proposes therefore that subsidies might go to low-paid families and to families with three or more children.

The special problem of London housing is not dealt with, and the book as a whole applies to the non-metropolitan urban areas like those in Manchester and Birmingham, where Mr. Simon believes that houses instead of tenements may be provided and the slum-dwellers moved to city suburbs in new garden city developments. There are a number of useful appendixes to this valuable and interesting little book.

E. A.

The Slum Problem. By B. S. TOWNROE. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1928. Pp. xi+220. 6*s*.

The little introductory note contributed to the Townroe book by Sir J. Walker Smith, a barrister who enjoyed for a time the post of director of housing in the Ministry of Health, clearly indicates its bias. The former director of housing belongs to the large group of well-to-do men who are afraid that those who wish to eliminate or mitigate bad housing or any other social evils will "let their heads be carried away by their hearts." In particular, he commends Mr. Townroe because he shares the conservative dread of subsidies.

Mr. Townroe, who has been chairman of the Housing Committee of the Hampstead Borough Council and has also held a post in the Ministry of Health, thinks "it helps us to keep our sense of proportion to recall what has been done," and he devotes a chapter to the history of the slums, in which he discovers that the British Royal family are the real housing reformers, beginning with the Prince Consort who "took up this matter in 1842" and ending with the "gracious interest" of the present King and Queen! This gracious interest, however, has not eliminated the English slums. Bad as are our congested districts it would be difficult to find today many cases as bad as the one Mr. Townroe gives on pages 23–24.

> I shall never forget a visit that I paid at 2 A.M. with an Inspector of the Police to a house in a prosperous Lancashire town. This house had once belonged to a wealthy merchant, but had degenerated into a common lodging house, and in one room upstairs I found three families sleeping. String had been fitted across the room on which hung rough sacking in order to provide a modicum of privacy. In each of the parts of the room, a father, mother and several children were slumbering in an indescribable atmosphere, herded together rather like pigs, except that there would be a separate sty to each porcine family.
>
> It is only when sudden disasters happen like the unexpected flooding of parts of the

river Thames, that the public discover how their fellow countrymen are living in dark and damp cellars. What cruelties and wrongs are hidden in our slum districts are best known to our sanitary inspectors.

Mr. Townroe has much to say about "the disreputable tenants . . . . who always create slums," "the destructive tenants who will inevitably ruin even the best of council houses, unless they are subjected to discipline." "What are we to do," he asks, "with the thriftless class many of whom ought to be in mental hospital or labour colony, or the infirmary?" Mr. Townroe has the self-righteousness of the well-to-do conservative middle-class Englishman who is filled with indignation when he thinks of the "filthy houses" and the "ingrained filthy habits" of the poor. He admits that the percentage of the working class "who persistently are verminous or neglect or misuse their sanitary fittings or who allow dirt to accumulate" is small but nevertheless he places a good deal of emphasis on this class and thinks it worth while to devote one whole chapter to "The Destructive Tenant."

On the whole, Mr. Townroe's book summarizes British post-war problems in convenient compass, although his British complacency is at times rather irritating.

E. A.

Black Yeomanry. Life on St. Helena Island. By T. J. Woofter, Jr. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1930. Pp. 291. $3.00.

This volume is a summarized report of a detailed community of St. Helena, an island lying off the coast of South Carolina between Charlestown and Savannah. The study was carried out under the auspices of the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina, and the specialists who made the investigation were for the most part members of the research staff of this Institute. The so-called Gullah Negroes, who are the chief residents of this island, have built up since the Civil War a well-established rural community which because of its isolation has preserved its traditional culture and manner of living to a degree seldom found in other Negro communities. The author has succeeded in presenting a very readable account of the historical background of this pure-blooded Negro community and the way in which the people have adjusted themselves to the situation in which they were placed.

The topics discussed range from the folk lore and dialect of the people to their methods of farming and religious life. To the social worker the chapters of chief interest are those that describe their standard of living, family life, educational attainments, and the problems of health and crime. Through the excellent work of the Penn School, a mission institution that has been maintained on the island for many years, the people have not merely been redeemed from illiteracy, but have been taught modern methods of agriculture and encouraged to develop habits of industry. Serious crimes seldom occur and are largely limited to non-

residents. The significance of this study lies in the fact that it presents convincing evidence of the improvability of the social, health, and economic conditions of rural Negroes when provided with competent and sympathetic leadership.

J. F. STEINER

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Capital and Labor under Fascism. By CARMEN HAIDER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. Pp. 296. $4.50.

This study is a careful piece of work revealing well-balanced judgment about one of the most intricate and controversial of contemporary affairs. It "is the result of a theoretical examination of the documents and of the publications on fascism, of observations on the spot, and of actual contact with the leading personalities of the fascist and the anti-fascist movements." The usual treatment of Fascism offers theories, pros and cons based upon opinions, impressions, and preconceived ideas; Dr. Haider goes beyond mere ideas to the hard, material, economic fact and shows how and with what success Fascism has executed one of its major plans, of abolishing class struggle and of bringing capital and labor into harmonious co-operation for the welfare of the state. She has not written an economic history of Fascism. Omitting almost entirely a discussion of Italy's increase or decrease in wealth, of her foreign trade, and similar questions, she has concentrated upon the relations between capital and labor, upon the system of syndicates, confederations, and corporations and their connection with Fascism as a whole. Her volume deals more with the institutional, legal, and social psychological aspects of the problem than it does with the social and economic as such. She describes in great detail the functioning of those institutions of the syndicate state dealing with capital and labor. Two long chapters, "Development of the Fascist Syndicates" and "Organization of the Legally Recognized Associations," are almost entirely constitutional analyses of economic structures.

The most valuable parts of the book are those dealing with the attitudes of the diverse branches of labor and capital toward Fascism and its organs, and explaining the difficulties within the Fascist system itself. Local events and small details are used effectively to make the portrayal convincing and lifelike, and the complexity of groups and forces and ideas in Italy and in Fascism itself are revealed. One learns that in spite of forceful methods, the Fascists have not succeeded in eliminating class struggle; that class antagonism between capital and labor is expressed in other forms than those of strikes and lockouts; and that even strikes still occasionally occur. Both capital and labor are more or less dissatisfied with the present syndicate system, which was artificially imposed upon them; labor especially dislikes the destruction of the representative principle in its organization and the selection of its officials from above; and the Fascist leaders admit, states the author, that the syndicate fees levied are too

high and the bureaucracy unwieldy and oppressive. Adherents to socialism persist, although they may have been compelled to join Fascist groups. Many of them, particularly many of the skilled workers, have emigrated to France in order to escape from Fascist domination. This loss, together with that resulting from the crushing of free thought and the oppressing of the intelligentsia, will severely hurt Italy, the author thinks, and will obstruct the Fascists in their effort to unite all forces for the good of the nation.

Throughout the book one meets the problem resulting from the fact that, while Fascism identifies itself with Italy, many elements of the population do not. The Facists therefore are at times compelled to sacrifice the welfare of the state to their own welfare. They dare not rely upon the people to retain them in power in case they renounce the employment of might, for they do not know themselves what the true condition of public opinion is. The difficulties in the way of learning that feeling, which the author gives in admirable fashion, are almost insurmountable.

The parallel problem of antagonism within the Fascist party is one which is too often overlooked. Fascism does not stand upon any specific social system; pragmatic in its ways, it accepted syndicalism and used it for its one fixed end of working for the greatness of the state. Fascist leaders declare that they are not bound to that system and may change or abolish it according to need. That the syndicate state is an experiment which is just at the beginning the author constantly emphasizes. The former adherents of various social systems within the party are therefore able to pull each in his particular direction: the former socialist toward the introduction of socialist ideas into Fascism, the former liberal toward the introduction of liberal measures, and so on. The conflict of these elements, the personal jealousies, the slovenliness of a bureaucracy, the uncertainty of the attitude of the people, the necessity of solving the many practical problems that arise in the normal course of affairs, make the importance of Mussolini apparent.

The author thinks that even Mussolini's hold over the people is slipping. "Still," she writes, "although the situation cannot be said to be especially favorable at present, it is not desperate for the fascists." The author questions "whether fascism can achieve its ambitions by the methods it pursues." The main objection to the integral syndicate system on the part of the workers, she believes, is caused by their distrust of "the political aspects of fascism." One concludes from her discussion that Fascism must either change its politics and allow more liberty and self-government or be eventually overthrown. As to the future of the syndicate system, that depends "in great part upon how the fall of fascism comes about" and particularly upon the element of time. If the syndicates are able to take organic root in the life of the people, they may survive the passing of Fascism; if not, they may be repudiated with their creator.

EUGENE N. ANDERSON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Palestine: Today and Tomorrow. A Gentile's Survey of Zionism. By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES. New York: Macmillan Co., 1929. Pp. xviii+271. $2.50.

Most modern books, particularly those dealing with problems of contemporary life, are almost as short-lived as moths. They are quick in the making, taking full advantage of the technical progress of typographical arts, but almost as quickly forgotten.

Published in October, 1929, Dr. Holmes's book on Palestine is not a new book according to our present standards of the book market. Much has happened in Palestine since Dr. Holmes's visit to the Holy Land in February, 1929. The atrocities of August, 1929, and the Passfield White Paper of recent date are the two outstanding milestones in the history of the Zionist movement during the last year. Many new books have already been written dealing with these events. There is *The Great Betrayal*, by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and Jacob de Haas; *The Case for the Jews*, by Louis J. Gribetz; and two books by that fervent Zionist and brilliant journalist, Maurice Samuels, *What Happened in Palestine*, dealing with the events of August, 1929, and *On the Rim of the Wilderness*, an excellent discussion of the present Arab-Jewish relationships.

It is a significant comment upon Dr. Holmes's work, to say that in face of all that flood of literature, not only in books but magazines and newspapers, in face of all the striking events which have occurred since the book has been published, his remains the best account of Palestine today and tomorrow, particularly for the non-Jewish reader who has no opportunity to follow the flood of current literature. That the book is charmingly written and makes interesting reading goes without saying, but that within a comparatively short time the author has grasped all the intricacies of the Palestinian problem is no less than amazing.

The five chapters of the book approach the subject from five different angles. In less than sixty pages a very readable story of the trip undertaken by invitation of the late Nathan Straus is told very entertainingly. The story of a journey through Palestine has been repeatedly told by hundreds of tourists. That the story as told by Dr. Holmes still makes very interesting reading can only be explained by the author's reactions to his visit. A popular explanation of the history and theory of Zionism, a very frank discussion of the complicated problems facing the movement, and a telling account of achievements of Jewish effort in Palestine, and finally, a summing up of the "promise,"—all this within the narrow limits of 270 pages—that of itself is no mean achievement. Dr. Holmes writes sympathetically and also critically. He sees all the complexities of the movement, and for that very reason, the appreciative statement of the work done during the last ten years is of value. His is not a statistical method of approach, but to the reviewer, who has spent four years in Palestine, Dr. Holmes's account rings much truer than the presumably impartial study made by Mr. Simpson for the British Labor government. The book represents a much

deeper understanding of the problem of Jewish return to Palestine than has been displayed by Mr. Sidney Webb, now Lord Passfield.

One of the most amazing aspects of Lord Passfield's attitude (in view of his past achievements in the work for a new social order) was his utter inability to understand the general social significance of the Palestinian experiment. Only a lapse of memory could explain the attitude of the White Paper toward the Jewish Labor movement in Palestine. Perhaps because Dr. Holmes has not been harassed by direct political responsibilities, he sees clearly. "Palestine," he says, "may be made not merely a battle ground but a laboratory." "It is an experiment station for the healing of the ills of men." "If the Jew succeeds in what he has so heroically undertaken, he will have discovered the solution of all social problems. . . . . It is in this sense that Zionism is far more than the hope of Israel. It is the hope, also, of the world. Zion has thus a universal significance."

It is because of these wider implications of the Jew's return to Palestine that some familiarity with the history, theory, and difficulties of the movement becomes a necessary part of every progressive social worker's intellectual baggage. For an introductory course, no better book than John Haynes Holmes's *Palestine: Today and Tomorrow* can at present be recommended.

I. M. RUBINOW

CINCINNATI

Mahatma Gandhi, His Own Story. Edited by C. F. ANDREWS, with an Introduction by JOHN HAYNES HOLMES. New York: Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. 372. $2.50.

Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas. Including Selections from His Writings. By C. F. ANDREWS. New York: Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. 382. $3.00.

It is highly probable that Mahatma Gandhi will be known in history as the Oriental St. Francis. Many have been at a loss to account for his moral power and prestige, but the two books under notice sufficiently reveal his secret. Gandhi is of the race of saints and prophets. He understands the common people and the people hear him gladly.

Western minds—unless they happen to be Russian, followers of Tolstoy, the Christian-Anarchist—will marvel at some of Gandhi's opinions, habits, practices, and courses. He will seem to them inconsistent at times and amazingly naïve and credulous. But it is impossible not to sympathize with his fundamental purpose and not to admire his stoicism, humility, nobility, and quiet courage.

His has been a life of faithful, brilliant service, of self-denial, of hardships and even humiliations. But his success has been extraordinary, and it is due largely to his rare personality. True, he himself attributes it to the inherent power of truth, to the support he has had from God, the irresistible weapons of

passive resistance and non-resistance, to the gospel love and charity toward all, not excepting one's most malicious enemies, but it is clear that without his pen, his oratory, his profound sincerity, his skill and astuteness, his legal training, and his general culture, Gandhi could not have achieved the fame, strength, and influence that have come to him.

The story of his career in India, in England, in South Africa, and again in India is one of the most fascinating to be found in world-literature. He is as frank as Rousseau in the "confessions." He does not spare himself. He speaks of his wife, family, friends, co-workers, victories, failures, partial failures, with a candor that often astonishes and amuses one. He reports incidents—such as his cruelty on one occasion to Mrs. Gandhi—which almost everybody else would pass over in discreet silence. He avows his mistakes and even magnifies them.

The biography is also a record of remarkable movements, strikes, campaigns, and humanitarian efforts in which Gandhi has played (even when in prison) leading or important parts. The companion book of "opinions" throws much light on the struggles and ordeals set forth in the "life."

Books, decidedly, not to be overlooked or read carelessly. The social worker will find them particularly heartening and inspiring.

VICTOR S. YARROS

CHICAGO

The Origin and Development of Social Legislation in China. By JEFFERSON D. H. LAMB; edited by MAXWELL S. STEWART. Publication of the Department of Sociology and Social Work, Yenching University. Peiping, China, 1930. Pp. 73.

This little book gives a concise summary of "the desperate conditions of the laboring classes" needing protection, and the provisions of the various measures promulgated in the last fifteen years.

The definitions and history of social legislation are chiefly of value to Chinese students unfamiliar with our terminology and background. "Since no movement for social legislation in China is indigenous," Dr. Lamb shows the influence of foreign capital and of Western labor movements, especially the British, and, due to the unusually severe poverty and helplessness of the workers, the appeal of Russian propaganda.

The Chinese Labor Movement has fostered 1,000 strikes since its rise to national prominence in 1920, the objectives having been largely wages, hours, and good conditions already standardized in Western countries. Dr. Sun's democratic idealism and the program of the Nationalist party are furthering extensive social measures.

The several local and "national" regulations and laws are outlined in detail, beginning with a presidential mandate in 1914 dealing with mining, "in many respects unenforceable." Provisional factory regulations were promulgated in 1923, and later similar attempts were made in the chief industrial cities and

provinces, as the Nationalist power spread. But the only regulations "put into operation immediately" were limited to the Wuhan cities. Finally, a national law was passed in 1929; "whether or not it can be enforced remains to be seen."

The outstanding features of most of these regulations include the registration of all factories; length of day (8–10 hours); overtime; employment of women and children (generally prohibiting night work and setting the age at twelve to fourteen years); vague attempts at minimum wages; protection of labor contracts, with occasional open recognition of collective bargaining; special vacations; and apprenticeship.

Dr. Lamb recognizes what is painfully clear to anyone who has worked in China, that these various provisions, like the plans for a joint factory council, seem to be "too ideal to be realized at present," because the terminology is too vague, too much is left to regulation by the individual concern or to the control of the still disorganized local authorities; because the whole government of China is too pressed with military and other expenses to provide supervision or even tribunals accessible to workers; and because there is no trained inspectorate, nor any adequate authority, to enforce even such penalities as are provided. And "without enforcement, any law . . . . is simply a dead letter."

Legislation regulating trade-unions is also discussed, giving the official recognition but putting them under the strict supervision of local authorities. Public opinion has helped the enforcement of anti-opium legislation in parts of China, but in interior districts the almost completely independent military officials have been known to encourage the growing of the poppy in order to get the high revenue from opium.

JEAN DICKINSON POTTER

CHICAGO

BRIEF NOTICES

The State of the Prisons ("Everyman's Library," No. 835). By JOHN HOWARD. London: J. M. Dent; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1929. Pp. xxii+306. $0.80.

"Everyman's Library" has rendered a useful service to social workers in reprinting this great eighteenth-century prison survey. As a matter of fact, neither Howard's British nor Continental survey is really reproduced. "Everyman" decided to present, instead, an abridgment of the *State of the Prisons* and some extracts from the account of the *Lazarettos*.

"All Howard's general observations on prisons have been retained as written, but a number of descriptions of individual prisons have been omitted altogether, and others much condensed, the principle aimed at being to retain only so much as will give a clear idea of the conditions prevailing at the time." All the descriptions of hospitals and lazarettos have also been omitted, but Howard's account of his own experience of quarantine is given. "Some observations on schools and education, which appear in the *Lazaretto* volume, also seemed too interesting to be omitted."

It is now more than 150 years since Howard made this epoch-making investigation. The tragedy of it is that if Howard were to view the "State of the Prisons" today, in America, in Europe, or in his own country, he would realize how slowly great reforms move.

Poverty and the State: A Study of English Conditions. By GILBERT SLATER. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1930. Pp. vii+480. $4.00.

This is an excellent one-volume survey, by the principal of Ruskin College in Oxford, of the history of the state's care of the victims of poverty. Something like a fifth of the book is given to poor-law history, and the remaining four-fifths to modern social problems and their solution in England by means of old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, and other modern remedies. Those who have read Mr. Slater's earlier and scholarly book on the *English Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields* and his later volume on *The Making of Modern England* do not need to be told that this is a useful and interesting book.

The British Workman. Past and Present. By the REV. M. C. F. MORRIS, B.C.L., M.A. London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1928. Pp. vi +166. 6*s.* net.

This account of the life of an East Yorkshire agricultural laborer serves to emphasize the changes that have taken place in rural life in the last century. The man (born in 1839) whose life story is told here was one of twelve children, all of whom went out to service at the age of eight. The account of the village school in which a schoolmaster was supposed to teach reading, writing, and "summing" to the children, who came bringing the weekly fee of threepence, is very interesting. The master used to spend part of the time during school hours in knitting.

The doctors of the period were, if anything, worse than the teachers. In this Yorkshire village "the nearest approach to a physician was a certain cattle doctor or veterinary surgeon, as we should now call him, named Cross, who, according to our Yorkshire habit, was always dubbed 'Doctor' Cross. This man would generally attend to the simple wants of the people who sought his aid, which commonly was given in the form of certain pills on which his fame seems mainly to have rested. These pills he manufactured in considerable quantities, and frequently he would calle in the assistance of some of the village boys to roll up these globules in the prescribed fashion, and when a sufficient number had been thus manipulated the 'Doctor' would give the lads a penny apiece, with which they were mightily pleased."

Like Yorkshire farming, Yorkshire dialect is somewhat incomprehensible to the American student, to whom the volume will seem to deal with a period that is extremely remote in every way.

Community Organization. A Study of Its Theory and Current Practice. (Social Workers' Library), revised edition. By JESSE FREDERICK STEINER. New York: Century Co., 1930. Pp. xii+453. $2.75.

The second edition of this important textbook revises, completely reorganizes, brings up to date, and enlarges the subject matter. There is an excellent bibliography.

Reminiscences of Present Day Saints. By FRANCIS GREENWOOD PEABODY. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927. Pp. 308. $5.00.

The "saints" of these delightful sketches are not those who having withdrawn from worldly contacts have been recognized by the formal canonization of the church. They are rather selected members of that great company of the simply good who share their aspirations with their fellow-men and make valid the declaration of the apostle that the communion of the saints is a source of spiritual power.

The sketches constitute delightful pictures of serious, beautiful, generous persons with whom the author had intimate association so that without violating privacy he can reveal personal traits and give a sense of closer contact. The list contains the names of divines, Ephraim Peabody, James Freeman Clarke, Phillips Brooks; theologians, F. A. G. Tholuck; educators, Andrew Preston Peabody, Charles W. Eliot; men of affairs, Alfred T. White; social reformers, Samuel C. Armstrong and Louisa Lee Schuyler, whose legacy in the New York State Charities Aid can hardly be appraised, so wide is its work, so fundamental the principles of the private citizen's responsibility for the quality of public service characteristic of this government under which he lives.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Interim Report of Departmental Committee on Maternal Mortality and Morbidity (Great Britain Ministry of Health, 32–293). London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1930. Pp. 151. 2*s*.

This report is the result of the grave concern that is now being felt not only in the United States, where the federal Children's Bureau has been directing public attention to the continuing high rate of maternal mortality, but also in Great Britain and certain European countries.

It is well to recall the pioneer American reports in this field that were prepared by the late Grace L. Meigs, M.D., a social worker and Hull-House resident as well as an able physician of the best scientific training in this country and abroad. In 1917 the Children's Bureau published Grace Meigs' *Maternal Mortality in the United States and Certain Other Countries* (Bureau Pub. No. 19). Later the Bureau published Robert M. Woodbury's study of the statistics of maternal mortality including in his study all diseases caused by pregnancy and confinement (Bureau Pub. 158). In Great Britain since the war Dr. Janet Campbell, Senior Medical Officer for Maternity and Child Welfare, has published several reports on related subjects.[1]

The British Committee on Maternal Mortality and Morbidity, which was set up by the last Conservative government, submitted last autumn the Interim Report, listed above, which is concerned with a study of some 2,000 maternal deaths and presents certain recommendations "for the prevention of the deplorably high death-rate attributed to childbirth." This report deserves the most careful study by social workers. The Committee will deal in a later report with the result of further inquiries that are being carried on concerning morbidity associated with pregnancy, puerperal sepsis, statistical aspects of the maternal mortality rate, and methods of public education in the preventive side of the problem.

In Great Britain the mortality among women during pregnancy and in childbirth has "remained almost stationary for many years." The Committee note a continuous improvement in the health of the child and a remarkable reduction in the infant mortality rate, but they are able to record no corresponding reduction in the rate of maternal mortality.

[1] Great Britain Ministry of Health, Reports on Public Health and Medical Subjects, No. 15, *Notes on the Teaching of Obstetrics and Gynaecology in Medical Schools*, by Dr. Campbell; No. 21, *The Training of Midwives*, by Dr. Campbell; No. 25, *Maternal Mortality*, by Dr. Campbell (1924); No. 48, *The Protection of Motherhood*, by Dr. Campbell (1927) (see this *Review*, III, 350).

An interesting table for the period 1911–29 shows a decline in the birthrate from 24.4 in 1911 to 16.3 in 1929; a decline in the infant mortality rate from 129 to 74 during the same period; a decline in the general death-rate from 14.6 to 13.4; and an increase in the maternal mortality rate from all causes (puerperal and non-puerperal) from 4.91 to 5.82.

The Committee note that although, in varying degree, the problem may be said to be common to all countries, exact comparison of the English maternal mortality rate with that of other countries cannot be made, partly because of differences in classification and partly because of incomplete returns.

However, in comparison with the British rate of 5.8, rates for other countries are quoted as follows: Australia 5.5, Belgium 5.6, Germany 5.1, Switzerland 4.4, New Zealand 4.8, and the United States Birth Registration Area 8.3. Lower rates are quoted for France (2.5), Holland (2.4), Italy (2.4), Denmark (2.6), and Norway (2.8).

The Committee undertook to study by means of a carefully prepared questionnaire, which is published in the Appendices, the maternal deaths occurring in the various districts in England and Wales in the hope that by ascertaining more exactly the actual cause of death, further means of prevention might be provided. In the Interim Report the results of the first 2,000 questionnaires which were secured are presented.

The Committee note that their figures "support the common experience that the burden of mortality falls most heavily upon the younger women, and mainly upon those of 25 to 35 years of age. One thousand four hundred and sixty-three women were under 35 years of age—that is, 71 per cent of the total. No less than 455, or 23 per cent, were aged 25 or less."

The relation of economic status and mortality is perhaps of special interest:

> The social circumstances naturally vary considerably. The information given is limited, as the conditions under which the inquiries were carried out were scarcely appropriate for any detailed investigation of such matters. Moreover, the terms "well-to-do," "poor," etc. are necessarily somewhat differently interpreted by the various observers. But it is of interest to note that more than half the patients—namely 1,256—were described as "well-to-do" or living in good working-class homes, and that only 439 were classified as "poor." In addition, there were 120 "destitute" cases, most of them in receipt of poor relief or unemployment benefit, and some of them living under extremely dirty and insanitary conditions (p. 34).

Social workers will also be interested in the discussion of the relative mortality of unmarried mothers:

> A study of the general conditions associated with these deaths leaves the impression that single women, as might be expected, suffer greater hardships and run greater risks during pregnancy and at the time of confinement than married women. The natural desire to conceal the pregnancy as long as possible frequently prevents the mother from seeking ante-natal advice or from making preparations for the safe conduct of her confinement. It is difficult to see how these additional burdens can be lightened except through the operation of social measures designed to assist the single woman in the

time of her need, and to encourage her to seek advice and guidance early rather than to put off as long as possible the ordeal of informing her family or obtaining professional attention (p. 37).

The subject of health insurance in relation to the safeguarding of maternity is also of much interest to social workers. The insured pregnant woman is not entitled to sickness benefit under the health insurance arrangements because of her pregnancy

unless she has been certified as incapable of work by reason of some specific disease or bodily or mental disablement. Sickness benefit is in this way available at any period of pregnancy if continuance in employment be declared definitely prejudicial to her health. But a judgment on this point affords room for great difference of medical opinion. Moreover, there are many discomforts and inconveniences during the last month, or last two months, of pregnancy which may render employment undesirable though not actually harmful. Some doctors certify such cases as eligible for sickness benefit, and some Approved Societies, though by no means all, accept such a certificate without question (p. 99).

There is of course a separate "maternity benefit" payable at the time of confinement but whether the pregnant woman would definitely benefit in health by a compulsory cessation of work at a given period of pregnancy with earlier maternity benefit is said to depend so greatly "on the nature of the work, the character of the pregnancy and the domestic circumstances that the Committee consider a medical opinion on general lines can hardly be given." It is also noted that during the four weeks after delivery (maternity benefit having been paid) "no sickness benefit can be claimed and industrial employment is forbidden. At the end of four weeks a woman is not entitled to sickness or disablement benefit unless her physical or mental condition is such that she can properly be certified as incapable of work within the meaning of the National Health Insurance Act."

American social workers may well hope that when the United States builds up a "maternity benefit" system, adequate medical and nursing services may be provided instead of the British "cash benefit" system.

This excellent report cannot be too highly recommended for careful study.

Report of the Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Administration of the Child Welfare Division of the Department of Health and Public Welfare of the Province of Manitoba (Report Number 4 of the Department of Health and Public Welfare). Commissioner, CHARLOTTE WHITTEN, Secretary, Canadian Council on Child Welfare. Winnipeg, Canada, 1929. Pp. 54.

At the winter session of the Manitoba Legislature, 1928, the opposition benches withheld the appropriation for the Child Welfare Division until the government promised an investigation of the administration of the Child Wel-

fare Act. The Act had been passed in 1922 and had been brought into force in 1924. Miss Charlotte Whitten, of the Canadian Council of Child Welfare, was appointed King's Commissioner.

The Commission investigated along four general lines: legislation, including the Child Welfare Act and related acts; the administration; the relation of this public department to other public departments and to private agencies; and the complaints referred by members of the Legislature and other interested citizens.

On the first of these the *Report* comments "that the Manitoba Child Welfare Act is undoubtedly the most comprehensive measure of its kind on the statute books of any of the Canadian provinces, but its full implications apparently were not realized at the time of its enactment or proclamation, nor, in fact, up to the present time." The recommendation of the *Report* leaves the Act in its original form, advises the sharp distinction between administrative and advisory bodies, cancels many general clauses, some of which relate to municipal affairs, as for example, the control of children in street trades, and suggests the inclusion of certain excluded groups, namely, the blind, the dumb, and children suffering from incurable diseases. It is foreseen that the numerous legislative recommendations will result in the Act's being much more paper-perfect.

On the second (the administration) the Commissioner has displayed organizing genius. From one province, one Act, and one director in one chaos, she has patterned a governmental department worthy of the name: a public welfare department of three divisions (as originally enacted), one being devoted to child welfare, with a director; three sections to that division, each under a supervisor; and the province divided for child welfare purposes by the judicial districts into three parts, each with a local center and resident workers. The proposed plan relieves the director of many of his one hundred and eleven functions and should permit him to devote some of his energies to the first three mentioned in the Act: "To encourage and promote the conservation of child life," "to encourage and assist in the organization of local Child Welfare agencies," "to instruct and advise such agencies in their work"; in other words to lead.

It is in the suggested division of labor between public and private agencies that we feel that a criticism may be justifiable, and it is here that both the summary and the main report give too little of the evidence on which the Commissioner has based her decision. An investigation of institutions and societies was made and reports tabulated, but the public, apart from the Legislature, has been given no information as to how effectively these institutions and societies have operated in the past. The Child Welfare Act, when it passed the Legislature in 1922, recorded, we believe, the will of the citizens of Manitoba to make the state responsible for its unfortunate children. This province-wide sense of responsibility is one of the outstanding characteristics of the Manitoba people. It is natural that this should be so, since this province displays few extremes of wealth and poverty which are the ingredients necessary to flourishing private societies. The *Report* advises an increase in private philanthropy and implies a corresponding decrease in active public responsibility.

The Manitoba public has wanted to know much of the details of mothers' allowance: Has it been adequate? Should the age limit be extended to sixteen years, and if not, why not? Should its scope be extended to include the children of divorced parents, of deserted fathers, or of fathers in jail? These and numerous other queries have been answered affirmatively or negatively with reasons, statistics, and comparisons; and so convincingly has the Commissioner reported that those who have read the *Report* have probably inferred that all will now be well with child welfare in Manitoba.

DOROTHY F. PUTTEE
CHICAGO NURSERY AND HALF-ORPHAN ASYLUM

Unemployment in the United States. Hearings before the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, Seventy-first Congress, second session, on S. 3059, 3060, H. R. 8374, 8655, 9560, 11414, 12440, and 12551. Serial 11. June 11 and 12, 1930. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1930. Pp. 193.

The Red Cross and Drought Relief. Extract from Hearings on Senate Amendments to Interior Department Appropriation Bill for 1932 (H.R. 14675). Seventy-first Congress, third session. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931. Pp. 91–163.

Child Welfare Extension Service. Hearing before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives, Seventy-first Congress, third session, on S. 255 and H. R. 12995 for the Promotion of the Health and Welfare of Mothers and Infants, and for Other Purposes; January 20, 21, and 22, 1931. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931. Pp. 270.

"Congressional Hearings" have been of special interest to social workers during the past session as the three items above indicate. The Unemployment "Hearings" were set for the purpose of discussing the various bills dealing with unemployment, especially those known as the Wagner Bills, with which the country has now become familiar. Senator Wagner himself spoke and answered questions at some length in concluding the hearing. He did not hesitate to call the unemployment problem a federal problem and exclaimed impatiently of "all this talk about state rights!" He pointed out, for example, that in a great economic depression

> there are no State barriers. A factory shut in Boston is bound to affect factories in other places. I mean if the men there can not buy shirts and shoes, some other factory in some other city is affected thereby. It is a national question. To see how serious it is I compared, by means of what meager statistics we had, the wages paid out in two months. I took only factory work, which is only one of our economic activities. In last January, they drew, in wages $200,000,000 less than they did in September (pp. 65–66).

The fate of the Wagner Bills is now generally known and need not be discussed here beyond noting the passage of all four of them in Congress and the inexplica-

ble veto of the important bill for the establishment of an adequate national employment service.

The hearings on the subject of the Red Cross and a congressional drought relief fund appear, of course, somewhat disguised as "Hearings on the Senate Amendment to the Interior Department Appropriation Bill." The hearings make a very interesting pamphlet. The proposal under consideration was in the form of an amendment to the Interior Department's Appropriation Bill and provided for a federal appropriation of $25,000,000 to the American National Red Cross for Relief Purposes. Judge Payne was the chief witness before the Committee. His position on the important question before the Congressional Committee is perhaps most briefly stated in his reply to Congressman Woods's question as to what effect he thought the payment of a twenty-five million dollar relief fund by the federal government would have not only upon the Red Cross, but upon all those other philanthropic and charitable institutions throughout the country.

MR. PAYNE: Mr. Chairman, in every campaign we have had we have found some people who say that the Red Cross is a semi-governmental agency. I do not mean that those people used just that technical word, but they mean the same thing. They say that Congress should appropriate money to be expended by the Red Cross for relief. In this campaign, we have been met everywhere with the statement that the Red Cross should expend the money for Congress, but that Congress should give the money for that purpose. Now, answering your question specifically, the public will not go into partnership with Congress in the matter of giving relief. If the Red Cross were forced to go to Congress to get its funds, it could not successfully collect funds by voluntary subscription, and it would speedily cease to be an effective organization.

MR. FRENCH: I want to ask what effect such a policy of government contribution in lieu of popular subscription would have upon your organization from the standpoint of the voluntary work you receive everywhere today, from volunteer groups in the localities in which the work of distribution and the work of collecting funds are carried on.

MR. PAYNE: It is very hard to answer that because people see things so differently, but my own conviction is that they would not work, and that, barring always a certain percentage, the Red Cross would find itself just as the Government finds itself—that is, it would have to hire people to do things. . . . .

The relief problem in the United States divides itself into two parts—first, unemployment, and, second, the drought. I stated that the unemployment question was being dealt with by the agencies in the cities through community chests and other organizations, and that the Red Cross, which never duplicates the work of any other effective organization, under the bill which I will read presently, would be forced into the cities in competition with all of those agencies. The other problem is the drought situation, which the Red Cross has undertaken to handle, and, so far as I know, it is doing that alone. It is not asking any assistance, and I believe that I am not immodest when I say that it is doing it well.

The Maternity and Infancy Bill has already been discussed in this issue and need not be again presented here. The testimony given by the chief of the Children's Bureau, however, will be read with interest. The reader notes, in passing, the following comments by Congressman Cooper:

As a laymen, not being a lawyer, I am handicapped here sitting around the table with this great array of legal talent on the committee. There is one thing that I can not quite get through my head. I can not get it clear. The federal government appropriates money and gives it to the States for the prevention of disease in cattle, or to fight the boll weevil and the fruit fly. It may be some of those States could do that themselves. Probably they are financially able to do it, but the federal government does not hesitate at all to make contributions to help the States to fight these diseases and so forth, but when it comes to human beings, to the children and to sanitation and prevention of disease and so forth among people, then the constitutional question is always raised. I can not get that very clear in my head as to why the constitutional question should be raised at that time. It is not raised on any of these other things.

There is a fine statement by Dr. Haines which summarizes the seven years of work under the Maternity and Infancy Act of 1921, which came to an end in the early months of the Hoover administration. The chief of the Children's Bureau appears among those speaking in favor of the bill (pp. 70–78), and her testimony will be read with interest as will the statements of some very distinguished physicians who also appeared in the support of the bill. Against the bill was the legislative counsel of the American Medical Association and representatives of the Illinois and Indiana Medical Societies. The Public Health Service presented a statement in support of the establishment of whole time local health units.

Special Report on Penal Institutions, 1930. The Crime Commission of New York State. Albany, 1930. Pp. 22.

Report to the Commission of the Sub-Commission on Adjustment of Sentences, 1930. The Crime Commission of New York State. Albany, 1930. Pp. 20.

Report to the Commission of the Sub-Commission on Statistics, 1930. The Crime Commission of New York State. Albany, 1930. Pp. 25.

Special Report to the Commission on Psychiatric and Expert Testimony in Criminal Cases, 1930. The Crime Commission of New York State. Albany, 1930. Pp. 16.

Special Report to the Commission on Firearms Legislation, 1930. The Crime Commission of New York State. Albany, 1930. Pp. 15.

Crime and the Community: A Study of Trends in Crime Prevention by the Sub-Commission on Causes and Effects of Crime. The Crime Commission of New York State. Albany, 1930. Pp. 292.

It is possible to comment only very briefly on these important and interesting documents. They are called to the attention of the readers of the *Review* so that those concerned with problems in the field of criminal law administration may know of their publication and of their bearing on such problems. Reference has been made in earlier numbers of the *Review* to the Commission and to many

results of its work. It remains a "going concern" and several of these documents are supplementary to earlier reports or are comments on the results of its recommendations being embodied first in legislation and then in administrative agencies. The discussions, therefore, have a practical purpose and are guided by the determination to test the procedures attempted by actual experimentations. The discussion of prison industries has a solidity and definiteness by no means common in dealing with their subject (I, p. 9). The entire small document is packed with pungent comment, and the recommendations are very comprehensive.

The Adjustment of Sentences document has to do with the changes resulting from the creation of the Division of Probation in the Department of Corrections under Mr. Frederick A. Moran, who was for a number of years secretary of the State Probation Commission. Certain amendments of the law governing the appointment of probation officers are approved, and certain proposed extensions of the work of the probation officers are rejected. The principle laid down by the Commission is that "it is better to have a perfect probation system so far as it is used than to have an imperfect one spread over the whole field of possible probation service" (p. 6). Everyone concerned with the creation or development of probation service should acquaint himself with the reports of this commission and with the work of the new division in the State Department.

The third report has to do with the collection and organization of statistical data and the work of the Central Bureau set up in 1928, and recommends the establishment of local or county bureaus where the records of the county could be kept for a time at least. Legislation intended to accomplish that result is proposed. The report urges too the completion of the organization of the bureau already set up but so far very incompletely and inadequately staffed.

The fourth document listed contains especially interesting proposals in connection with the use of psychiatric and expert testimony, which as is commonly known has been a notoriously scandalous feature of criminal law administration. This report has peculiar interest because it proposes the certification by a state board composed of the commissioners of education, health, and mental hygiene, of qualified psychiatrists who should alone be regarded as competent psychiatrists and called on to give expert testimony in criminal cases. Licensing bills embodying this principle have been approved by many groups and individuals in the state and are proposed now for enactment.

The fifth report listed contains a brief statement of the important place held in the whole situation by the sale and possession of firearms, discusses the propaganda maintained by manufacturers of firearms against regulative legislation and proposes legislation intended to control at the two vulnerable points of possession and sale, by licensing those who are allowed to sell weapons and restricting the right to possess firearms to definite and responsible groups.

The last document, which is much longer than any of the others, cannot be ignored by any student of the problem of crime prevention. A number of earlier studies are summarized and reviewed,[1] and the task of crime prevention is de-

[1] See this *Review*, III, 159–61, 353–54; IV, 527.

fined as that of *guiding the development of childhood behavior* (p. 11), a task which the writers think must be accomplished by the county or municipal authority or organization rather than by the state or nation. The Commission recommends the setting up of neighborhood councils under the general direction of the community-wide organization, these councils to consist of neighborhood business men, professional men, social workers, political leaders, representatives of public services, whose concern would be the present and future needs of the neighborhood based on fact-finding and whose problem would be to integrate all the forces within the neighborhood that are working for social welfare into a harmonious whole! These councils should be adequately staffed with only competent people and should contain records of all children presenting behavior problems together with careful statement of treatment programs. The Commission seems in the statement concerning these neighborhood councils less solidly grounded than in most of its proposals. For after all, there must be a highly skilled person to decide which of the various community recources are adapted to the child's particular needs, and learning of those needs and securing treatment is only good social case work by whatever name it is called.

The report contains, in addition to a review of earlier studies, interesting chapters on the social world of the child, the rôle of the family and of the school, and on employment and crime. Recent studies and existing conditions are dealt with. It recalls similar studies of twenty years ago when the British Royal Commission on the Poor Laws of 1909 pointed to the disastrous results of misused boy and girl labor and the United States Bureau of Labor study of Women and Child Wage-earners pointed to the deficient adjustment of hand minded children in a school system that emphasized book learning. The report is clear, however, to the effect that the eye of the person attempting to prevent crime should be on the child and, differing with the Webbs and with some of the American students of administration, that tasks should be assigned on the basis of wards to be treated rather than of functions to be performed.

On the Codification of Children's Laws. By HENRY P. CHANDLER. Chairman of the Illinois Committee on Child Welfare Legislation, in *Welfare Bulletin*, published by Illinois State Department of Public Welfare, Vol. XXI, No. 8–9 (November & December, 1930), pp. 1–9.

Report of Massachusetts Special Commission Established To Investigate the Laws Relative to Dependent, Delinquent and Neglected Children, and Children Otherwise Requiring Special Care. January, 1931 (House No. 1200). Boston: Wright & Potter, 1931. Pp. 274.

Illinois and Massachusetts have joined the long procession of states that have found it necessary to survey the great body of law affecting the care of the children within their borders.

The Illinois Committee was appointed by the Governor in the autumn of

1929 in accordance with a resolution adopted by the legislature. This action was in accordance with a request of the Illinois Conference of Social Welfare, which had been devoting special attention to this problem. The selection of the chairman, Mr. Henry P. Chandler of the Chicago Bar, was singularly fortunate. The Committee was representative of the different fields of Child Welfare and of different sections of the state. There were several county judges, who administer the mothers' pension law and enforce the poor law and often preside over the juvenile court, a member of the State Senate, the judge of the Cook County Juvenile Court, representatives of the State Department of Public Welfare, Health, Education, and Industry, as well as representatives of the School of Social Service and of the social agencies of the state.

The report deals with the three groups of children, dependent, delinquent, and handicapped; there was a committee on health, education, labor, and a committee on the County Unit, which is regarded as a necessary development in the state public welfare organization.

The recommendations of the Committee in relation to the dependent child include (1) an enlargement of the mothers' pension to include groups of mothers not now included, to allow of families' possessing property of greater value, and to share in a larger state fund; (2) a revision of the bastardy law or rather the substitution of the proposed uniform illegitimacy act for the existing bastardy act; (3) a revision of the adoption law, especially providing for notification of proposed adoption to the Department of Public Welfare. With reference to delinquent children, the Committee recommends strengthening of the probation service over the state by making the appointment of probation officers mandatory, providing for the setting of standards by the Department of Public Welfare and sharing the cost of the service by a state grant to the county. The improvement of the parole service and of the program in the institutions for delinquent children are likewise proposed. For the handicapped children it calls attention to the deficiency of the state in making provision for the children whose needs might be met through the school, i.e., the hard of hearing and the children of limited vision, or the slow and overage child, and the Committee urges the development of privileges. The Committee on Health, Education, and Industry proposed the amendment raising the age of school attendance, propose a street trade bill, and provide for penalizing a school district that fails to provide for the children needing special forms of training and treatment. And also in connection with the prevention of maternal and infant mortality that the practice of midwifery be subjected to regulation through licensing, and that maternity hospitals be placed under more effective supervision of the State Department of Health. The Committee proposes a County Unit bill and suggests many changes in the organization of the Department of Public Welfare.

In contrast, the Massachusetts Commission was composed of only five persons—the Director of Public Welfare, the Secretary of the State Probation Commission, the Commissioner of Mental Disease, and two executives of great

private child welfare organizations. This Commission considered a number of subjects not included in the deliberations of the Illinois Commission. For example, there is an interesting discussion of divorce and of child marriages, and legislation is recommended on both subjects. Desertion, non-support, and the subject of family courts are discussed, and interesting amendments to the existing laws are suggested. Like the Illinois Commission, they are greatly concerned to throw greater safeguards about the adoption procedure and the treatment and care of the child born out of wedlock. These two reports give evidence that in Massachusetts and Illinois able minds, wide experience, and devoted effort are being directed to a comprehensive and forward-looking program of child care. The Illinois Committee has prepared thirty, the Massachusetts Commission forty, bills for the guidance of the legislature.

Report of the New Brunswick Child Welfare Survey Financed by the Kiwanis Club of Saint John City, 1928–29. Made by the CANADIAN COUNCIL ON CHILD WELFARE for the Kiwanis Club and the Central Welfare Council of St. John. St. John, N.B., 1929. Pp. 216.

If there is any subject endowed with national interest it is the welfare of the Nation's children. The Nation's future existence, the intelligent use of its resources, the rôle it will play in world affairs depend on its children,—whether or not they are physically fit, and whether or not they are trained in self-respect, in respect for the rights of others, and in understanding of their own rights and obligations.

This statement of Grace Abbott's is on the cover of the *Report of the New Brunswick Child Welfare Survey*. When we have read the *Report* and turned again to its initial page and thus turn again from the provincial situation to the national plan, two questions come to mind; first, Is child welfare legislation and administration in Canada to be uniform? and, if our answer is affirmative, What is to be the exact pattern and is it likely to prove provincially adequate?

The *Report* goes briefly but comprehensively into the history, geography, and social condition of the province. New Brunswick has an estimated population of 407,000. There are three cities, all small: St. John, with a population estimated at 60,000; Moncton, with 20,000; and Fredericton, with 8,500.

We are driven back to eighteenth-century England for our understanding of the social conditions existing in New Brunswick today. Relief is on the parish system, there being in the province 399 overseers of the poor, receiving no remuneration except small honoraria for the time expended in the performance of their duties. Some outdoor relief is given; but there are thirteen or more almshouses in the province, and many of them indiscriminately accept families, children, wayfarers, unmarried mothers, and the aged. There is no central control and no uniformity of care or treatment. Relief to all groups, including children and with the exception of charitable institutions and four children's aid societies, is through public funds. When there are no almshouses provided, the

homeless poor of any age are boarded out in private homes at the lowest rates. There is no provincial supervision nor are provincial funds granted toward any of the costs, either maintenance or capital expenditure.

New Brunswick as a colony was officially created in 1786 after the settlement of 12,000 Loyalists from Massachusetts and New York. The poor-law legislation of the day was still Elizabethan, and there have been few changes in more than a hundred years. A Children's Protection Act was passed in 1927, but this also provides "that if such person has children in a suffering condition, any two overseers of the poor with the consent of the justices may bind such children as apprentices, if males until 21 years, if females until 17 years of age." A modern illegitimacy act was placed on the statute-books in 1924 but was repealed in 1926 without ever having been put to test, and the old form resembling the former bastardy legislation of England was re-established. The act as it now stands permits the initiation of action against the putative father by the mother or by the overseers of the poor, but no action may be taken if a bond or security is given the overseer sufficient to indemnify the parish if the child should become a public charge. Legal adoption is still only possible through the Supreme Court, though the practice is common of adopting by indenture or written agreement. Nor has any legislation been enacted permitting any section of New Brunswick to avail itself of the Dominion legislation incorporated in the Criminal Code for Special Courts for Juveniles.

To the statement of legislative inadequacy suggested above, the Survey adds factual evidence, and one of its investigators collected case stories.

Lastly, the Survey undertook to investigate the child-caring agencies. These included almshouses admitting children, the four children's aid societies, orphanages and maternity homes, industrial schools, and homes for delinquents. The institutional findings are reviewed briefly in the *Report*, a more detailed study having been sent to the individual institutional boards. The tales of the four children's aid societies are pitiful. The St. John's Society was incorporated in 1915 and is the oldest. Its executive functions are intrusted to a full-time secretary, and it provides a shelter for thirty children. The Survey complains that the organization's statistical report was inadequate and "such records as were available were sought for further information"; little or no investigation was made and no follow-up service rendered when children were returned to their own homes. The depressed condition of the St. John's Society the Survey attributes to the extreme difficulty of securing funds. There are no grants in aid from provincial sources, no statute to enforce payment by municipalities who have children placed, and such grants as come from the municipalities depend upon their good will and charity. For private charitable funds the tag day is used with diminishing returns and private subscriptions solicited. Public funds from the city of St. John have been far more generous than private philanthropy, owing "to the apathy of the public and its belief that children's aid is government work." Space does not enable us to deal with all the agencies dis-

cussed. The Society for the City of Fredericton and County of York was incorporated in 1916. It operates a small shelter, provides foster-homes, employs a paid agent, and one-third of its funds is received from public grants. In the opinion of the Survey, "it is the most effectively organized society operating in the Province at the present time under the Children's Protection Act." All four of these societies, however, operate in the southern half of the province, leaving at least eight counties entirely dependent upon public resources and the occasional assistance of a private institution.

Antiquated legislation, shortage of private funds, and lack of energy and awakened public responsibility briefly summarize the findings of the Survey. To remedy these conditions it makes recommendations, both legislative and administrative. In the field of legislation suggestions are made to amend and recast the existing Children's Protection Act and thus bring it to the form and content of the Ontario Act originally passed in 1893.

> This legislation provided for the creation of Children's Aid Societies and for the commitment to them by Court order and for the placement by them in foster homes, of neglected and delinquent children, whose homes could not be re-established. . . . . It is based on the underlying principle that the State's interest is primarily in the creation and maintenance of a reasonable, safe, decent and adequate guardianship for each child.

It is here that the Survey perhaps falls short. In the city and county of St. John the plan may be wholly satisfactory in that with an energetic executive secretary, supported by local public opinion as well as "the recently organized Kiwanis Club of St. Johns" and "the St. Johns Board of Trade which had fathered the Central Welfare Council," the Children's Aid Society might reasonably expect to collect sufficient funds within the small area, to produce (with an equal sum from the province) a workable budget, but St. Johns is not New Brunswick, and one questions in the district of Sunbury and Queens, a suggested area comprising two counties and (according to the Survey map) with not a single sizable town, whether procuring a working budget would be such a simple matter; or again in the district of the far north, which includes Madawaska, Restigouche, and Gloucester, where the traveling expenses of the field-service department would consume a large portion of the money collected.

One may question whether the proposed development is the normal outgrowth of New Brunswick tradition. To be sure, the Child Protection Act and the four children's aid societies were in existence at the time of the Survey, but none was considered really active and none was organized prior to 1915.

The children's aid society in Canada was the child-caring institution of the late nineteenth century. It was a normal development, adequate in its day, and made a noble contribution. It was a contemporary of the horse-drawn vehicle, the barn dance, and the town pump. Today we have automobiles, aeroplanes, and radios, a fast-moving and specialized civilization, living on a large scale. Let us admit that in the child welfare field New Brunswick is still mid-Victorian, but let us at least grant her British background and her blueblood an ability to

progress rapidly and so plan, not for a decade already passed, but for years yet to come when we shall all think in terms of the large community, of the local as being the provincial.

A section called "Methods of Survey" states that the Survey

> has sought rather to lay the whole situation fairly and without disguise before the people of New Brunswick and to point the way to the incorporation in their legislative and administrative provisions of those principles and practices which have proved most successful in handling similar problems of social care elsewhere in the Canadian community. But the Survey Staff can only diagnose and prescribe. Treatment must come from New Brunswick's own citizens.

Had the Survey held strictly to this statement it would have necessitated presenting more than one administrative solution. Throughout the *Report* several statements occur giving evidence of a desire in the minds of the citizens for provincial responsibility and administration. By stressing the failure of private philanthropy, the lack of concentrated wealth in the hands of the few, the unprogressive work of the existing societies, and the British background and the French element, the Survey might have made as strong or stronger a brief for state responsibility, centralized organization, and the use of public funds for child welfare than it did for private societies.

The Canadian Council on Child Welfare has set its stamp, by means of the Survey, upon three provinces (British Columbia, Manitoba, and New Brunswick), and its efforts seemed to have resulted in stressing the pattern of the children's aid societies, financed by private funds. This is the system in Ontario. It makes the guardianship of children a state concern and all other child welfare (with the exception of mothers' pensions) charity. Is the pattern approved by Canada as a whole?

D. F. P.

The Scope and Practice of Adult Education. Paper No. 10 of the Adult Education Committee. (Great Britain Ministry of Education.) London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1930. Pp. xi+91. 1*s.* 6*d.*

This admirable brochure is the outcome of a special inquiry made by the Adult Education Committee which was constituted in the British Board of Education in 1921. According to the terms of reference, the Committee were to consider in the light of experience the aims and purposes for which different types of adult education were adapted and the needs which they were designed to satisfy, the suitability of the methods employed and the possibilities of a better adaptation of the work to the various purposes of adult education.

The most illuminating part of the study for American readers is the brilliant analysis of the aims and purposes for which different types of adult education are adapted and the needs which they are designed to satisfy. The distinguishing features of adult education that mark it off from university or professional education are set forth. The principles of adult education are declared to be

catholicity, maintenance of standards, and differentiation of students and their demands. Students enrolled in adult education courses are separated into three main types. There is steady and persistent demand for tutorial classes such as those at Oxford. The influence of these classes, according to the Committee, extends far beyond their actual membership, for they help to set a standard for others. The second type of demand is for university extension courses. These may be short and introductory, or systematic and continuous, extending over a period of four years, or something between the two. The third type are the literary or men's institutes found in London. The aim of these institutes is in a measure to compensate for lack of opportunity in earlier life, to discover and develop unsuspected talent, to aid in selecting useful and absorbing hobbies, and to keep class members in touch with social and scientific developments. The classes are a meeting place for men of all ages, offering congenial and sociable atmosphere.

The report stresses the necessity of envisaging the whole needs of an area or region and for understanding and rightly interpreting the mentality and whole character of the actual or potential students. It emphasizes the value of co-operation with public education authorities. It suggests that the main problem is to find out how the student's limited leisure can be used to the fullest benefit. It notes the importance of systematic and organized study. It brings out the fact that although progress in academic study is largely a matter of leisure and the amount of time that can be devoted to systematic study, some adult education classes must be conducted on the assumption that little or nothing can be done outside of class hours.

The contribution of the study lies in this analysis of types of demand for adult education and indication of methods that must be pursued to meet these different demands.

M. R. C.

Report of the Departmental Committee on Factory Inspectorate (Great Britain Home Office). London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1930. Pp. 44. 1*s.* 6*d.*

In attempting to analyze the demands of the Factory Inspection Department, the Home Office has made a study, following a similar one of 1921, covering the main duties of the factory inspectorate, the numbers of factories and workshops to be visited, the types and numbers of establishments that should be visited quarterly or even more frequently and those requiring annual inspection or less. It has determined the amount of inspection possible with the present staff and the additions to the personnel needed if the standards that it sets up are to be maintained. The suggested additions are classified according to rank or grade of inspector or special type of service to be rendered, such as medical, electrical, and engineering.

The report recommends an increase in the number of factory inspection districts because of the expansion of industry since the establishment of the present divisions. It suggests increasing the staff of women inspectors to 30 per cent of the force. Division of labor in inspection between men and women is opposed on the ground of lack of necessity and added expense. Although generally approving promotion on the basis of seniority, the report urges waiving the rule where it would reduce the proportion of women in the higher posts because of exclusion of women from the service upon marriage. The need of an adequate clerical force is emphasized if the inspector's time is not to be wasted in routine clerical matters. The report substitutes for limitation of staff to the customary number or haphazard increase the determination of numbers and types of personnel on the basis of the number of establishments to be covered and frequency and thoroughness of inspection required by each plant.

M. R. C.